

Popular Voices of Islam

Discourse on Muslim Orientations in South Central Java

Jamhari



**A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at The Australian National University**

April 2000

Except as noted in the text,
this work is the result of research carried out by the author

Jamhari

Jamhari

Department of Anthropology
Division of Society and Environment
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University

Acknowledgments

In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful

I would probably not have completed this thesis without generous assistance, encouragement and support from many people. My greatest debt is to the many people in Basin and Jatinom who willingly helped me to uncover their religious ideas. They all had certain traits in common: courtesy, patience and a willingness to point me in the right direction. I wish I could name them all, but they are too numerous to mention here. I would be inattentive, however, in not singling out a few people for a special word of gratitude: Bapak *lurah*, Ibu *lurah*, Bapak Salam and the other *juru kunci* in Jatinom; Mbah Gerobag, who passed away during the writing of this thesis, may God bless him; Mbah Ngamat Tekak; and Basin villagers as a whole.

My study and fieldwork were made possible through the financial assistance provided by AusAid. I am extremely grateful to Professor James J. Fox, my supervisor, who patiently supervised me before and during the writing of my thesis. Professor Fox, during the course of my five years of study at the Australian National University, used a Javanese manner—always supportive, positive, encouraging my work, and never said no but only with a smile—in supervising me. It made me feel at home. My gratitude to him is immeasurable, '*matur nuwun ingkang tanpa umpami*'. I am equally grateful for the help provided by Patrick Guinness, my co-supervisor, who gave precious criticism and comments on my thesis. I have learnt a lot from both my supervisors. I must thank Dr Amanda Scott for her assistance in editing my English. Without her hand, my thesis might not be well understood. My thanks also to Dr Kathy Robinson, all staff and colleagues of the Department of Anthropology,

Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, especially Ria van de Zandt and Fay Castles who always showed a willingness to help. To Mas Yudhi and his family I would like to say thanks for their sincere help, allowing me to stay at their house when my family had to go home earlier to Indonesia. For Eby, Dedy, Yudi Latif, Edwin, Prima, Muflih, Mbak Tutik and Mbak Dana, I thank them for their friendship.

Finally, I shall express my gratitude to my wife, Menuk, and my sons, Willy and Aul, who with their joy and happiness encouraged and supported me during a stressful time. Above all, I should express my thanks to my mother who passed away during the final stage of my writing. It was very hard for me, as I could not see her for the last time, after I had not seen her for three years. May God bless and place her in paradise. I dedicate this thesis to my beloved mother, wife, sons and family.

Canberra, 1 September 1999

Abstract

This work deals with the socio-religious traditions of Javanese Muslims living in Klaten where the fieldwork for this work was conducted. It examines the notion of popular Islam in Javanese society, focusing on the presence of the diverse manifestations of Islamic traditions and the changes in religious orientation.

Based on analyses of village life in Basin, regarded by people as a Muhammadiyah village, and the celebration of the *Angkawiyu* in Jatinom, this study examines the characteristics of popular Islam in Java. Analyses of the socio-religious traditions in Basin demonstrate changes in the way people understand Islam and put it into practice. Villagers in Basin recalled that they had once practised religious traditions similar to those in *pesantren*. However, when the villagers directed their affiliation to Muhammadiyah, enormous changes in religious practices took place. These can be seen in the election of the village chief, which became a major political event for the villagers. Later elections reversed the initial changes, creating more varied and nuanced interpretations of local Islam.

Diverse interpretations of Islam can also be seen in the ways people interpret the meaning of the *Angkawiyu* celebration to commemorate the life of Kyai Ageng Gribig. The tradition of celebrating the life of pious people is by no means a unified practice that can be seen from a single viewpoint. This is because such practices are influenced by local tradition. At the *Angkawiyu*, that influence can be seen at the level of praxis as well as at the level of conceptual interpretation. At the level of praxis, people perform various rituals at the celebration. For example, some people perform their celebration by reciting the Qur'an, *tahlil* and *dhikr*. Others, however, perform meditation. At the conceptual level, participants in the *Angkawiyu* hold different understandings of the meaning of *wali* and of

the meaning of the *baraka* contained in *apem* (a cake distributed during the *Angkawiyu*).

It is argued in this thesis that particular local understandings of Islam are an expression of people's intention to understand Islam in their own way. The way people practise and understand the *Angkawiyu* expresses the degree and manner of their religious perception.

The manifestation of popular Islam in Klaten has been coloured by two salient factors. Firstly, popular Islam in Klaten has been enriched by the diverse understandings of Islam. Secondly, since there have been diverse interpretations of Islam, the process of finding the 'right place' for Islam in Java ranges in a wide spectrum. This facilitates the tendency to move back and forth between universal Islam, a tendency to return to idealistic Islam, and local Islam, a local manifestation of Islam enriched by local context. A discussion of the quality of Muslim-ness or the direction of Islamisation in Java oscillates in a pendulum fashion between the universal and the local.

Table of Contents:

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>iii</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>Contents</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Chapter I</i>	<i>I</i>
Introduction: Javanese Islam: The Flow of Creed	1
1. Introduction	1
2. Reviews of Studies about Islam in Java	5
3. <i>Desa Santri</i> and <i>Desa Apem</i>	26
4. Popular Islam in Central Java	31
5. Islamic Religious Orientation	37
6. Social Experience and Cultural Dialogue	42
<i>Chapter II</i>	<i>49</i>
Interpreting Islam: A Quest for True Islam in Java	49
1. Introduction	49
2. Islam in Java: Exploring Islam within Javanese Culture	52
3. Islam as a Cultural and Social Marker	54
4. Islam as a Religious Identity	58
5. The Making of Islamic Knowledge and Practice in Java	64
6. Local Islam	72
7. Interpreting Islam	79
<i>Chapter III</i>	<i>85</i>
Rhetorical Discourse on Islamic Religious Orientation	85
1. Introduction	85
2. The Origin of Divergent Religious Orientations in Java	89
2.1 Javanised Islam	96
2.2 Traditionalist Islam	104
2.3 Modernist Islam	109
3. Social and Religious Practices	114
3.1. Religious Practice of Javanised Islam	115
3.1.1 Religion is Personal Experience	116

3.1.2 Preserving the Ancestor's Inheritance	119
3.2 Religious Practices of Traditional Islam	122
3.2.1 <i>Slametan</i>	122
3.2.2 <i>Pengajian Akbar</i>	124
3.2.3 <i>Ziarah</i>	126
3.3 Religious Practices of Modernist Islam	128
3.3.1 <i>Pengajian Yasinan</i>	128
3.3.2 <i>Syukuran</i>	132
3.3.3 Religious Training and <i>Pengajian Keliling</i>	135
3.3.4 Social and Economic Activities	137
3.3.5 <i>Turba</i> (<i>Turun ke Bawah</i> , going to villages) <i>Dakwah bil Hal</i>	138
4. Concluding Remarks	139
Chapter IV	149
Changing Patterns in Religious Orientation	149
1. Introduction	149
2. Region and Rituals: A Portrait of a Changing Village	151
3. Javanised Islam in Sambeng	158
4. Muhammadiyah in Basin	162
4.1 Building a School	167
4.2 The New Islamic Practices	170
5. The Election of <i>Kepala Desa</i> (Village Chief)	174
5.1 The Election of <i>Kepala Desa</i> in 1982	174
5.1.1 The First Election	178
5.1.2 The Second Election	181
5.1.3 The Third Election	183
5.2 The Election of <i>Kepala Desa</i> in 1988	185
5.3 The Election of <i>Kepala Desa</i> in 1998	188
6. The Implications of the Election	193
Chapter V	205
<i>Riyaya Angkawiyu: A Symbol of Local Islam</i>	205
1. Introduction	205
2. History and Identity of Kyai Ageng Gribig	207
3. The Genealogy of Kyai Ageng Gribig	210
4. The Miracles of Kyai Ageng Gribig	215
5. The Celebration of the <i>Angkawiyu</i>	217

5.1 History	218
5.2 The Feast	222
5.3 <i>Apem</i> and the Concept of Baraka	228
5.4 Ritual	231
6. Interpretation of the Feast	236
6.1 A Symbol of Local Islam	238
6.2 The <i>Angkawiyu</i> as <i>Dakwah</i>	239
Chapter VI	250
Discontinuity and Continuity	250
1. Introduction	250
2. Maintaining Accommodation	252
3. Spiritual Balance	258
4. Inventing New Tradition	265
5. A Quest for the Right Place of Islam in Java	268
Chapter VII	279
Popular Islam in Central Java	279
1. Introduction	279
2. Religious and Cultural Rationalisation	283
3. Continuity and Change in Religious Orientation	291
4. Disputes over the Concept of "A Good Javanese Muslim"	298
5. The Swing of Religious Experience	300
6. Debates on the Concept of a Good Muslim	311
Chapter VIII	317
Conclusion: The Direction of Islam in Java	317
Bibliography	328

Chapter I

Introduction:

Javanese Islam: The Flow of Creed

1. Introduction

When I was studying in Australia a few years ago, I encountered a surprising question from one of my Australian friends. As he knew that I came from Central Java and that I was a Muslim, he asked me, "Are you *abangan*, *santri* or *priyayi*?" Of course his question was a product of an understanding extracted from reading Geertz's (1976) book, *The Religion of Java*, which describes these three variants of *abangan*, *santri* and *priyayi*. Although deep down in my heart I was quite proud that a book on my society was widely read, I was astonished by that question. It was difficult for me to provide a simple answer, as he might hope. "I am a Javanese Muslim", I replied diplomatically.

After that meeting I reflected on my own history in order to answer which variant suited me. I was born in a small village that had changed a lot. Even I could not recognise any more the environment of my childhood. My father was a teacher who had obtained his degree from a Catholic school in Klaten, the only school available at that time, whereas my mother was a paddy trader (*tebasan*). My grandfather from my father's line (Mbah Parto) was a successful farmer, and my grandfather from my mother's line (Mbah Huri) was a *modin* (religious official), thus a *priyayi*, who studied religion in a *pesantren* in Solo, though he dropped out. Mbah Parto loved and mastered *wayang* (shadow puppets). Whenever I came to him, he told me stories about the character of each figure in the *wayang*. He had some good quality *wayang* puppets that were

always shown to his grandchildren with pride. He taught his grandchildren about Javanese wisdom through *wayang* characters.

On the other hand, Mbah Huri was a *priyayi* who owned a big house. Not every one of his grandchildren dared to come to him, including me. Not only because his house looked frightening, but his angry temper made his grandchildren run away from him. However, whenever he met his grand-children, he gave them money. As he was a student of a *pesantren*, he was very strong in his religious attention. "I will give you some money if you can read the Qur'an well", he said to his grandchildren in his *langgar* (small mosque), situated behind his house. As a *modin* he was invited by villagers to say prayers (*donga*) in the Islamic manner at *slametan* and other important religious ceremonies. As a gift to him, villagers donated a small portion of the *slametan* meal.

I, with other children, learned to read the Qur'an with Mbah Huri in the *langgar*. Mbah Huri taught us with harsh methods. He often punished a child who did not pay attention to his teaching. A bamboo stick was always in his hand ready to punish us. Whenever I felt too bored to study the Qur'an, I went to Mbah Parto to listen to *wayang* stories. Mbah Huri passed away when I was 10 years old, and Mbah Parto died two years later. Mbah Parto asked me to sleep with him during his last illness. I slept with him until his final day in this world.

This dual background shaped my future life in appreciating Islam and Javanese traditions. Since my father was involved in the Muhammadiyah organisation, he promoted the modernist argument about religious practices. With his friends my father sponsored the establishment of Muhammadiyah in the village. He was involved in the development of Muhammadiyah schools in the village, as well as the establishment of mental training for the youth. I was introduced to these Muhammadiyah activities. However, my appreciation of *wayang* never

ended. Whenever there was a *wayang* performance in my village or a nearby village, I asked my father to accompany me to watch the *wayang*. I usually went to the performance in the middle of the night when the *goro-goro*, the session with great clowning, presents humorous dialogue. This session is my favourite part of the performance. I usually watched the *wayang* alone, my father would return home immediately.

At the time of *slametan* to celebrate Islamic holidays, such as the celebration of the birth of Muhammad (*muludan*), the celebration of the end of the month of *Ramadhan* (*Idul Fitri*) and the celebration of the *hajj* and of sacrifice (*Idul Qurban*), Mbah Huri was invited by many people to pray at their *slametan*. Mbah Huri always asked me to accompany him. The *slametan* was usually performed in a group consisting of some families living in the same part of the village. After an address from a person who was regarded as the oldest (*dituakan*) to explain the intention of the *slametan*, Mbah Huri gave a little speech about the religious meaning of the event. Then Mbah Huri prayed *donga* in Arabic, and when finished, he asked the participants to share the meal with others. All the participants gave a little portion of the *slametan* (*berkat*) to the *modin* to say thanks for the *donga*. I brought the *berkat* home.

When I graduated from my elementary school (Madrasah Ibtidaiyah), owned by Muhammadiyah, my father sent me to a *pesantren* (Islamic school) in Magelang. Although I did not want to study there, because it was located in a remote area and was a poor *pesantren*, my father reminded me about my promise to my grandfather Mbah Huri about studying religion in a *pesantren*. I did not remember that I had made such a promise to Mbah Huri, but my father remembered that I made the promise when Mbah Huri was dying. I finally agreed to study at the *pesantren*, and I spent seven years there. My religious knowledge and practices were shaped by the *pesantren* traditions which were dominated

by traditional Islam and Sufism. Though my *kyai* was a member of NU (Nahdatul Ulama), he said to his *santri* (students) that the *pesantren* was neutral, meaning that it had no religious or organisational ties with any Islamic religious organisation such as NU or Muhammadiyah. In a joking phrase, my *kyai* described his *pesantren* as “Pesantren Muhammad NU”.

After spending seven years in the *pesantren*, I went to Jakarta to continue my study at an IAIN (the State Institute of Islamic Studies) which is well-known as an institute that promotes liberal thinking in Islamic studies. At that time, two lecturers, Harun Nasution and Nurcholish Madjid, were very influential figures in shaping the orientation of this IAIN, popularly called IAIN Jakarta. Nasution’s argument for the necessity to study Islam from a broad perspective, studying Islam from many different aspects ranging from Islamic philosophy to legal aspects of Islam, was the core orientation of Islamic studies in the IAIN Jakarta. Madjid, on the other hand, building his major on Islamic history and philosophy, argued that there is a serious need to study Islamic history in a critical way. He also argued that there is a need for reformation in Islamic thought (*keharusan pembaharuan pemikiran dalam Islam*).

Given that this has been my life, I do not know how to fit myself into Geertz’s variants. To Muhammadiyah people, I am a traditionalist Muslim as I studied in a *pesantren*. For the traditionalists, however, I am a secularist Muslim because I studied at IAIN Jakarta. And for my friends in IAIN, I am a genuine Javanese (*wang Jawa totok*) as my Javanese thinking is apparent when I write or speak.

If Islam in Java is studied through a differentiation of its elements into variants, then it will break the real picture of Islam in Java. The focus of my study of Islam in Java is to examine how Islam is understood, interpreted and then put into practice. The pluralistic manifestation of

Islam in Java suggests that there are many different interpretations defining the religiosity of a Muslim. Moreover, this pluralistic nature of Islam also provides a wide scope for Javanese to articulate their views in determining the right understanding of Islam for Javanese. Therefore, these differences in understanding are merely a sign of the different ways that people have endeavoured to implement Islam in Java.

2. Reviews of Studies about Islam in Java

Many articles, books and theses have been written on religion in Java, particularly on its existence there. Various scholars, travellers, Dutch colonial administrators and local writers have influenced the writing on Islam in Java. The study of Islam in Java is a study of what these writers have considered to be the nature of religious spirituality and people's interpretation of it. As Javanese people consider that the spiritual quality of religiosity depends heavily on personal experience, the studies of religion in Java have to deal with the interpretation of the social and religious experiences of people who practise the religion.

One of the difficulties has been the different approaches that scholars have used to study religious phenomena in Java. An early written account on the existence of Islam in Java can be found in *The History of Java* (1817) written by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles. According to Raffles, most Javanese were still devotedly attached to their ancient institutions, though some of them believed in the existence of the supreme God and recognised Muhammad as the messenger of God and practised some basic Islamic duties. However, Raffles also recognised that Javanese people "have long ceased to respect the temples and idols of a former worship" (Raffles, 1817:2). Though laws, usages and traditional observances were respected, their attachment to the older traditions had long declined. It seems that Raffles had a contradictory view of the

influence of the old Javanese traditions. On the one hand, he said that Javanese people no longer had deep ties with their old religious beliefs. On the other hand, he found that Javanese practices and usages that were inspired by the old religion were still practised, even though "the whole island appears to have been converted to Mahometanism ..." (Raffles, 1817:2).

In line with Raffles, Peacock provided evidence that the old practices still dominated the religious practices of the Javanese. The general view was that the Javanese traditional view of the world was dominated by the view of "spiritual energies contained in forms and images, such as magical potent swords, sacred shrines, spirits, deities, teachers and rulers" (1978:43). In short, Peacock argued, the religious practices in Java were characterised by syncretic magic. Unlike Raffles, however, Peacock seems to argue that the religious practices of Java were based on animistic beliefs, not Hindu-Buddhist traditions (Peacock, 1978:40-43).

Geertz also found that the strong colour of syncretic religious practices in Java provided a clear picture of the meagre influence of Islam in Java. When Islam arrived, the animistic beliefs and Hindu-Buddhist traditions dominated the religious life of Javanese. Islam just appropriated those practices and did not create a civilisation in Java (1971:11). Although Islam did not construct a civilisation, Islam did influence religious practices. As Ricklefs found, Islamisation in Java brought some changes in religious practices, for example, the belief that reading the Qur'an could release the spiritual power residing in the human body. However, these changes, Ricklefs argued, "would not have brought much understanding of the new faith or commitment to its formal requirements" (1979:104). The conversion that accelerated in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries did not influence much of Javanese

religious life due to the deep and comprehensive influence of traditional Javanese culture (Ricklefs, 1979:126).

These accounts of the shallowness of Islamic influence and its existence in Java were caused by the use of a definition of Islam based on the Islam that is practiced in Arabian regions. Geertz (1971), for example, compared the existence of Islam in Java with Islam in Morocco, saying that Islam in Java is less dynamic and less devoted compared to Islam in Morocco where it has dominated the life of Moroccan people in religious, social and political affairs. Geertz described the situation as follows:

Compared to North Africa, the Middle East, and even to Muslim India, whose brand of faith it perhaps most closely resembles, Indonesian Islam has been, at least until recently, remarkably malleable, tentative, syncretic, and, most significantly of all, multivoiced. What for so many parts of the world, and certainly for Morocco, has been a powerful, if not always triumphant, force for cultural homogenization and moral consensus, for the social standardization of fundamental beliefs and values, has been for Indonesia a no less powerful one for cultural diversification, for the crystallization of sharply variant, even incompatible, notions of what the world is really like and how one ought therefore to set about living in it. In Indonesia Islam has taken many forms, not all of them Koranic, and whatever it brought to the sprawling archipelago, it was not uniformity (Geertz, 1971:12).

Ricklefs also argued that, "this Islam [in Java] would probably have been judged heretical by what were later regarded as the ideal standards of Islam in Arabia ..." (1979:104). It seems that Ricklefs ignored the fact that Islam in Arabia, in its religious practices and understandings, has been influenced by local culture. Tibi (1991:160-177) argued that the use of Islam as the basis for the Islamic Monarch in Arabia proved an accommodation between Islam and Arabic cultures. Islam was used as a legitimation for royal authority by describing the king as *khadem al-harameyn al-sharifeyn* (a servant of the holy shrines of Mecca and Medina). Since Islam as a cultural system will always change according to regional context, making Islam in Arabia an ideal standard for Islam is problematic. Hodgson (1974b:550) proposed a study of Islamic civilisation in a locality that stems from the perspective of the Muslim tradition as a

whole. In other words, any particular forms of Islam should be assessed in relation to the Muslim tradition as a whole. The Islamic value compiled in *shari'a* is not allowed to change and may likewise not accommodate to change, but the religious actions and practices derived from the interpretation of Islamic norms do not remain as constant as the *shari'a* would appear to be.

According to Hodgson (1974a), the systematic neglect of Islamic studies by Indonesianists has deep roots in what he labelled "methodical errors" in understanding Islam that has interacted dynamically with local cultures. The manifestation of what can be labelled the "little tradition" of Islam—Islamic traditions in a local context—provides a perspective for understanding the "great tradition" of Islam—Islamic tradition as a whole. Moreover, as is shown clearly in Geertz's work, the description of Islam in Java is based on the modernist point of view, which is based more on legal and formal aspects of Islam (Dhofier, 1985; Hodgson, 1974b:551). Observed from the nature of Islam that has been embraced, especially by the Javanese *kraton*, it is clear that Islam has been adopted in its mystical form. As Soebardi suggested, a description of the influence of Islam in the *kraton* has to be viewed from the perspective of Sufism (Soebardi, 1975; Woodward, 1989:20-22).

In addition, the problematic accounts of Indonesianists on Islam in Java stem from, among other things, their orientalist, especially British and Dutch, representations (Azra, 1992; Woodward, 1989). In Indonesia Islam was not only misunderstood but its existence was denied.¹ The

¹ Snouck Hurgronje (1972) argued that Islam in Indonesia should not be feared since it was not as strong as the Dutch thought. This is because, firstly, unlike Catholicism which has a clerical system united under the authority of the Pope, *ulama* and *kiai* are not bound to a Caliph of Islam for example. Secondly, as there is no clerical command, Muslims in Indonesia are less fanatic. Thirdly, Hurgronje countered the myth that returned *haji* had promoted fanatical rebellions. Finally, Islamic law was not rigidly applied in the society, as, realistically, *adat* and customary laws were still widely used. These phenomena of Islam demonstrated that the influence of Islam in the society was weak (Benda, 1972a; Suminto, 1985). Benda argued that

syncretic characteristic of Islam in Java and the permissive nature of the Javanese in accepting Islam were identified as self-evident of the marginal status of Islam in Java. The Javanese religion is described as a religion that is defined by Hinduism and/or Buddhism mixed with animism. Religious practices absorbed as laws, customs and traditions by Javanese were then regarded as the "real" Javanese religious practices. Although Javanese people had embraced Islam seriously, even Benda (1972a:86) described them as, "... good and devout Muslims, profoundly attached to their own version of the faith"—they were thus not viewed as "true" Muslims.

Hodgson and Benda held different views regarding the existence of the old Javanese religious traditions. For Hodgson, there is no doubt that, before the coming of Islam in Java and Indonesia as a whole, the popular traditions were dominated by the Hindu/Buddhist and animistic traditions. When Islam came to Java, these traditions were provided with new meanings deriving from Islam. As Hodgson put it:

The popular Islam of the countryside schools was partly nourished from old Malaysian cultural roots. ... Beneficently or mischievously, these filled every corner of nature and became ... the foundation for the whole structure of daily etiquette and of inter-personal relations, all with the blessing of the representatives and rites of Islam. ... Alongside these old-Malaysian elements, especially in inner Java, the richest country in the region, the aristocratic elements maintained their older Indic-derived traditions in an Islamicized form. ... This heritage also affected the Sufi *tariqahs*, at least on the aristocratic level, leaving its mark in the language and perhaps in some of the ideas of the Sufis. ... When the gentry adopted Islam, these traditions were woven into Sufism, which they enriched and endowed with a distinctively Javanese beauty (Hodgson, 1974b:550-551).

However, for Benda, the spread of Islam in Java, which deeply influenced the religious life of Javanese, proved that there was no strong evidence that Hinduism and Buddhism had comprehensively influenced the Javanese. Benda said:

Hurgronje's views laid the foundation of the Dutch marginalisation of Islam in Indonesia, especially in Java.

It was, indeed, Sufism, or Islamic mysticism, rather than Islamic orthodoxy, which for a long time held sway in Java and in parts of Sumatra. But it is at least equally significant that in Indonesia Islam did not lead to the creation of a separate community and to lasting division between Hindus and Muslims, as had been the case in India. It is therefore, very likely that its success in Indonesia is indicative of a rather superficial degree of Hinduization particularly in Central Java, and that Javanese Islam in the early centuries was a wedding of Sufi and indigenous mysticism rather than of Islam and Hinduism proper (Benda, 1959:12).

Nevertheless, Hodgson and Benda both recognised the existence of old Javanese beliefs, whether they were created by Malay, animistic, Hindu or Buddhist traditions, and acknowledged that the fact that Islam spread in Java so rapidly, and that the coming of Dutch colonialism had no major impact on the religious life of Javanese people compared to Islam, is an indication of the "triumph of Islam" in Java. Ricklefs, while negating the fundamental change in Javanese religious thought, especially in the mystical realm, acknowledged that "Islam became the religion of nearly all Javanese in the period after the fourteenth century ..." (Ricklefs, 1979:126-127). The success of the introduction of Islam in Java was caused by the adoption of pre-existing Javanese religion into Islamic practices. "The wedding of Sufi and indigenous mysticism" was, according to Benda, the main aspect that supported the triumph of Islam (Benda, 1972b:12).

The debate about the marginalised position of Islam in Java is propelled by the different perspectives on Islam. Geertz and Ricklefs clearly see Islam in Java with reference to Islam in the Arabian regions where Islam was first developed. Most Indonesianists also see Islam from the perspective of the legal and formal aspects that are widely vocalised by modernist Islam. It is clear when Ricklefs argues that though there is an abundance of Islamic vocabulary in Javanese mystical themes, the elites of the *kraton* did not observe Islamic practices such as praying in the mosque. Furthermore, some of the elites still drank alcohol, which is strongly forbidden by Islam. Ricklefs further argued:

If one can speak of a growing sense of Javanese identity defined partly in Islamic terms in the Kartasura years before 1726, it does not follow that there was more Islamic religious influence in *kraton* circles in that period. So far as is presently known, there is no evidence to demonstrate that the court elite was diligent in its mosque attendance, enthusiastically studied the Arabic language or religious books in Arabic, maintained contacts with pious Islamic figures from the Malay or wider Islamic world, or wrote religious works themselves. One's picture of such matters of course rests upon the evidence which happens to have survived. ... Yet it seems not unreasonable to think that an increasing sense of Javanese identity, labelled Islamic by the literate elite, had not yet significantly changed the religious life of the court in a more intensely Islamic direction. ... This does not of course, reveal what devotions may have gone on behind the *kraton's* walls (Ricklefs, 1998:330-331).

And Geertz described the religious situation in Java as follows:

Though for what at first must have been an overwhelming majority of the population the Indic world view continued under a nominal conversion to Islam, it was no longer without a rival—a rival that, as both commercial life and contact with centres of the Muslim world increased, grew steadily more powerful. A new theme—the tension between the spell of the Madjapahit and the pull of the Koran—was introduced into Indonesian spiritual life, and what was to become a thoroughgoing differentiation of the country's religious tradition was begun (Geertz, 1971:40).

Geertz (1976) distinguished three variants, *abangan*, *santri* and *priyayi* on the basis of sociological categories. The *abangan* variant represents Javanese people who observe religious practices based on animistic traditions which are anchored in the worship of spirits, whereas the *santri* variant represents Javanese Muslims who hold traditions based on Islamic teachings. Finally, the *priyayi* variant represents those Javanese elites who love mystical themes as manifested in *wayang* performance. Geertz further argued that these three variants also represented three different social and political environments. *Abangan* people consisted of farmers, *santri* represented people in the market, and *priyayi* represented people in the bureaucracy.

There is no doubt that there has been a constant interaction between Islam and the old Javanese values in shaping Islamic religious practices in Java. However, as Hefner found in Tengger, it is a difficult task to claim

that the current Tengger traditions resembled their old traditions. In other words, the coming of Islam had changed the religious scene in Java.

It is impossible to say with absolute certainty how popular religion in modern Tengger differs from its Old Javanese progenitor. The fall of Majapahit marked a turning point in Javanese civilization, and created the conditions that led eventually to the dilemma of modern Tengger. Java's Eastern Salient was Balkanized into small pockets of folk tradition, lacking the regional integration to some degree afforded by earlier Hindu-Buddhist courts. In the north coast and Central Java, Islam—albeit a local variety—became the religion of state. The Hindu-Buddhist ecclesiastical communities once dispersed throughout Java's countryside gradually disappeared. Tengger remained to provide testimony to earlier priestly ways, but isolation in an Islamizing Java made it destined to increasing doubt and problems of self-definition (Hefner, 1985:266).

For Hodgson, biased views of Islam in Java had distorted the "real" picture of Islam in Java. He argued that the different groups of people interpreting Islam were an indication of the different perspectives by which people understand Islam. In Muslim societies as a whole, there is a perennial debate between mystical Islam which focuses on the spiritual aspect of Islam, and formal Islam which relies on the legal aspect of Islamic teachings. Therefore Woodward argued that, "religious discord is based not on the differential acceptance of Islam by Javanese of various social positions, but on the age-old Islamic question of how to balance the legalistic and mystical dimension of the tradition" (Woodward, 1989:3).

The *shari'a* approach, the legalistic dimension of Islam, refers to the conceptions by which Islam provides guidance for the religious and social life of all Muslim. It focuses on prescribed Islamic teachings—*shari'a*—contained in the Qur'an and the Sunnah. This approach is concerned more with the legal aspect of Islamic teachings. *Shari'a* literally means "a path or road". In religious terms *shari'a* is interpreted as the paths constructed according to Islamic values to direct humans to a good life. Islamic values, governing the relation among human beings and the relation between human beings and God, contained in the Qur'an and the Sunnah were interpreted and constructed into concrete directives for

actions. The interpretation was done through analogy (*qiyas*), reasoning (*ijtihad*) and consensus of *ulama* (*ijma*). The result of this interpretation is called *fiqh*, meaning "a personal understanding of religious values".

Tasawuf, the mystical dimension of Islam, on the other hand, is a way of understanding and practising Islam more in terms of its spiritual aspect focusing on the endeavour to obtain a direct relationship with God. Through ascetic practices, and through such actions as *dhikr*, fasting and continual prayers, Sufi, that is, Muslims who practice *tasawuf*, seek a more spiritual, personal experience with God. The primary goal of *tasawuf* is to create consciousness of existence and a dialogue between the human soul and God. The practice of *tasawuf* practised in particular communal ritual is called *tarekat*. Literally, *tarekat* means "a way" or "road", and in *tasawuf* terms, it is an organisation of Sufi practising a set of rituals taught by a Sufi leader to reach a spiritual experience with God.

Both these approaches, *shari'a* and *tasawuf*, are Islamic. The *shari'a* approach places stress on the legal and prescribed teachings of Islam, whereas *tasawuf* places stress on obtaining a more spiritual experience. The process of becoming a good Muslim will always involve these approaches. In Indonesia, the modernist tends toward the *shari'a* approach, while most practitioners of Javanised Islam stress the *tasawuf* approach. Traditional Islam, as maintained in the *pesantren* tradition, attempts to blend these two approaches.

Islam in Java thus has to be viewed from the perspective of the continuous struggle between esoteric and exoteric understandings of Islam. In other words, Islam in Java has to be seen from the perspective of continuity and change. Dhofier's study of *pesantren* provided an excellent example of employing this approach. He argued that studying the tradition of *pesantren* demonstrated a real picture of *pesantren* which, in building its Islamic traditions, preserves some old traditions that do not

violate the basic principles of Islam, but also introduces some new Islamic elements (Dhofier, 1985:176).

Islam in Java has been developed through cultural dialogue involving various traditions. The combination of the pluralistic nature of Islam that provides a scope for local cultural influences, and Javanese culture that accommodates influences from other sources formed a unique setting for Islam. In short, throughout the Muslim world local forms gave way to greater uniformity under the persuasive, militant pressure of the reformists. Accommodation and reform are the two facets of Islam that helped to achieve both variety and unity over such extensive areas. Islam in Java then developed through an ongoing process of appropriating Islam in a local context. Muhaimin (1995) said that the triumph of Islam in Java is manifested in the forms of traditional Islam, while the rich dimension of Islam in Java is marked by the continuous struggle of defining a good Javanese Muslim.

Abdul Ghoffur Muhaimin wrote a doctoral thesis on the socio-religious traditions of the Javanese Muslims in Cirebon, a region on the north coast of West Java. Cirebon is an important region in relation to the development of Islam in Java and particularly West Java. The existence of an Islamic kingdom in Cirebon, established by Sunan Gunung Jati, one of many important Javanese *wali*, around the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, suggests the significance of Cirebon in shaping Islam in Java.

The thesis studied the relation between *adat* (customary laws) and *ibadat*—which specifically means pious acts related to the observance of Islamic duties, and in a broad meaning signifies religious practices dedicated to the submission of Allah. Using the case of *pesantren* Buntet and its *tarekat* (Sufi orders)—Syatariyah and Tijaniyah—and the practice of Islamic tradition in the court of Cirebon, Muhaimin examined the tradition of Javanese Muslims through the perspective of traditional

Islam. By examining the theological explanation of traditional Islam, Muhaimin rejected the syncretic approach in examining the relation between *adat* and *ibadat*. He argued that the syncretic schema, pioneered by Geertz, is an inadequate and simplistic approach to understanding Islam in Java (Muhaimin, 1995:4). Sensing that there was a close relation between *adat* and *ibadat* in the tradition of Javanese Muslims in Java, Muhaimin argued that it is difficult to separate what is *adat* and what is *ibadat* (1995:365). Therefore, the syncretic approach is not applicable when it is applied in practice. The second important aspect of Muhaimin's thesis is the way in which traditions of Javanese Muslims in Cirebon are transmitted to maintain their presence in Javanese societies.

On the basis of traditional Islam, people in Cirebon understand Islam in its broadest sense. The practice of Islam is considered as *ibadat* in its wide meaning. It seems that, stemming from the proposition of the deep influence of Islam in Javanese life as argued by Marshall Hodgson (1974 a & b) and Mark Woodward (1989), Muhaimin argued that the relationship between *adat* and *ibadat* in Cirebon provides clear evidence of the inability to separate Islam from Javanese traditions. Through his deep and comprehensive ethnographic research, Muhaimin found that when they considered an explanation of Muslim-ness, Cirebonese argued that, "... when people finished reciting *syahadat* [testimony of faith stating that that there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah], they automatically become [sic] Muslims ..." (1995:42). Cirebonese people are concerned with what people say, not with what people think in their hearts. Although it is true that the oral confession was sufficient to be acknowledged as a Muslim, one also needed to prove the confession to Islam through practice. Performing religious duties after confessing *syahadat* is an individual responsibility to God.

Muhaimin argued that the tradition of Islam in Cirebon, as practised in other Muslim societies, is the manifestation of the practice of *ibadat* consisting of practices related to *iman* (faith), *islam* (Islamic laws) and *ihsan* (deterrence). To explain the meaning of *ibadat*, Muhaimin argued, Cirebonese people interpreted the term from two different perspectives: specific (*khusus*) and general (*umum*) (1995:114-115). Cirebonese articulated the meaning of *ibadat* as "to enslave oneself to God (*ngaula ning Gusti Allah*)" (1995:115). This implies that performing *ibadat* is an affirmation of the relationship between a human (*kaula*) and God (*Gusti*). *Ibadat* also means performing the obligation of a human as servant to the Master (God). The third implication of *ibadat* is as an expression of thanks to God, who has given human life and happiness. This enunciation of the meaning of *ibadat* and its application corresponds to the ultimate principles of Islam. The first implication matches the six pillars of *iman* (faith)—belief in God, belief in angels (*malaikat*), belief in the Prophet of God, belief in the Holy books, belief in life after death, belief in God's judgment (*qadha*), and predestination (*qadr*). The second interpretation of *ibadat* agrees with the existence of five pillars of Islam—*shahadah*, the statement of affirmation; *shalah*, prayers five times a day; *shaum*, fasting in the month of *Ramadhan*; *zakat*, the giving of alms to the poor; and *hajj*, pilgrimage to Mecca. The third implication of *ibadat* matches the practice of *ihsan* (deterrence), manifest in Sufism and in *tarekat* (Muhaimin, 1995:116-117).

For Cirebonese people the differentiation of practice into *ibadat* or not-*ibadat* rests on one's "awareness which manifests itself as intention (*niyat*)" (1995:118). In Islam, especially in the view of traditional Islam, *niyat* plays an important role. There is a prominent *hadith* stating that, "the outcomes of acts are determined by the *niyat*—intentions (of individuals)", which implies that *niyat* is a significant determinant of the

value of actions. The status of an activity as *ibadat* or not, whether it relates to a prescribed ritual such as fasting or to other rituals, is determined by one's *niyat*. If one acts with the intention of *ibadat*, he/she performs *ibadat*. Therefore, it is "in the presence of intention that everything, irrespective whether it is a worldly or afterlife activity (*bli perduli apa urusan dunya atawa urusan akherat*)" (Muhaimin, 1995:118) is regarded as *ibadat* or not. It is clear that *ibadat* in Cirebonese discourse embraces a wide spectrum of practice, not only those relating to formal prescribed rituals but also those relating to activities considered as mundane.

The immediate implication of that meaning of *ibadat* is that *adat* and *ibadat* in Cirebonese life cannot be separated. In the celebrating of *riyaya lebaran*, for example, to celebrate the end of the month of fasting, Cirebonese people celebrate in accordance with the tradition of the *kraton* Cirebonese. In the celebration, many traditions such as *sungkeman* and *punjungan* are apparent. For Cirebonese people there is no difference between celebrating the religious event *Idul Fitri* and enjoying traditional performances such *wayang*. "To the people", Muhaimin argued, "these rituals are both *ibadat* and *adat* at the same time" (1995:156). The people's acceptance of *adat* practices, as long as they do not breach the Islamic basic tenet, as *ibadat* is relevant to a *hadith* that declares, "What the faithful believers find good, is [presumably] good on the side of God" (1995:158).

The second important aspect of Muhaimin's thesis is the way it documents how Islamic knowledge and tradition are preserved. The *pesantren* is an important institution in maintaining the Islamic tradition in Cirebon. In addition, *tarekat*, which are widely spread in Cirebon, provide another important aspect of traditional Islam in Java. The *pesantren* is a religious institution where "*syare'at* (the exoteric dimension of Islam) is transmitted" (Muhaimin, 1995:331) through selective people to maintain

Islam's authenticity. The *tarekat*, on the other hand, preserve "the esoteric dimension of Islam" (Muhaimin, 1995:331) through their practices. Both *pesantren* and *tarekat* rely on the strict legitimation of an intellectual chain to preserve the transmission of Islamic knowledge.

Pesantren Buntet is a unique home of *tarekat*. This is because *pesantren* Buntet gives two *tarekat*—Syatariyah, which came earlier, and Tijaniyah—their homes. The current *kyai* of Buntet, Kyai Abbas, holds two *ijazah* as *mursyid* for *tarekat* Syatariyah and Tijaniyah. According to Tijaniyah rules, one has to resign from other *tarekat* after joining the Tijaniyah *tarekat*. However, perhaps because of the Kyai Abbas's leadership capability and his intellectual capacity he is exempted from the rule.

Tarekat Syatariyah began in *pesantren* Buntet after the arrival of Kyai Anwaruddin Kriyani Al-Malebari (Ki Buyut Kriyan) in Buntet after marrying Nyai Ruhillah, the daughter of Kyai Mutta'ad, the leader of *pesantren* Buntet. Abdul Rauf Singkel brought the *tarekat* Syatariyah to Indonesia. Syekh Abdul Muhyi, the student of Abdul Rauf Singkel, extended the spread of *tarekat* Syatariyah in West Java, especially Cirebon. However, *tarekat* Syatariyah did not come to Buntet from these two figures, but through Kyai Asy'ary of Kaliwungu (Muhaimin, 1995:334-335). After gaining a huge following, *tarekat* Syatariyah diminished considerably after the death of its prominent leader Kyai Mustahdi.

Tarekat Tijaniyah, on the other hand, despite its controversial acceptance by NU, gained greater support in Cirebon, especially after the latest leader, Kyai Abbas, promoted the *tarekat* throughout Java. His double *ijazah*—(certificate of initiation), as *mursyid* (legitimate initiator) for Syatariyah and Tijaniyah, provided him with the privileged status to organise and centralise both *tarekat* in *pesantren* Buntet. The growing support for Tijaniyah, according to its followers, is due to its flexibility

and the fact that it is "suitable for everyone, even the busy people of modern times ...". (1995:346). Through the institution of *pesantren*, both *tarekat* have expanded to other places. The most important role of *pesantren* and *tarekat* is that they are institutions that ensure that "the maintenance of scriptural and cultural traditions continues within the Javanese Muslim society ..." (1995:355). Unlike Woodward (1989) who maintained that the triumph of Islam in Java is because *kraton* adopted Islam as the spiritual symbol for Javanese religiosity, Muhaimin argued that "... religious transmission has never ceased either with or without the support of the political power structure" (1995:355).

It is clear that throughout his thesis Muhaimin has convincingly provided arguments, from fundamental Islamic sources, on the deep influence of Islam in Javanese traditions, especially on the relationship between *adat* and *ibadat*. The broad meaning of *ibadat*, determined by intention (*niyat*), provided a basis for the acceptance of Javanese traditions that do not violate the basic tenet of Islam, that is, *tauhid* (the oneness concept of Allah). Muhaimin's elucidation of the importance of *niyat* in determining the boundary of *ibadat* and not-*ibadat* has filled the gap left by Woodward. When Woodward argued that the religious significance of a practice is examined through the way in which actors interpret it, he did not provide evidence derived from Islamic texts.

In addition, Muhaimin's findings on the complementary relationship between *adat* and *ibadat* undermines Hurgronje's (1972) conviction that there is a considerable gap between the practice of *adat* and the practice of Islamic law in Java. Muhaimin argued that the idea of separating Islam into Islamic and non-Islamic idiom would only shadow the light of Islam in Java. He further argued that, looking at the success of *pesantren* and *tarekat* in spreading and preserving Islam in Java, it is in the

shape of traditional Islam, institutionalised in *pesantren* and practised through *tarekat*, that Islam has triumphed in Java.

However, Muhaimin's strength is also his weakness. His rich ethnography and convincing discussion of the ideological and theological arguments of traditional Islam has provided a strong basis to sustain his conviction of the inseparable character of *adat* and *ibadat*. However, his dependence on views of traditional Islam has neglected the presence of other religious orientations such as those offered through Muhammadiyah. I believe that Muhammadiyah, though small in Cirebon, exists and has some followers there. As shown by Nakamura (1976) and later by Kim (1996), there is some evidence that modernists have also influenced religious practices. The place and the contribution of modernist Islam in the success of Islam in Java is not clear from Muhaimin's thesis. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier by Zamakhsyari Dhofier (1985), *pesantren* also change and adapt to new situations and conditions. It seems that Muhaimin did not provide a picture of changes in the life of *pesantren* in the face of social changes.

Kim Hyung-Jun is a Korean student who, prior to his fieldwork, had never experienced life in a Muslim society. He knew Islam from reading books in preparation for his fieldwork to Indonesia. His naivety about Islam immediately appeared in the beginning of his thesis:

One of the surprises that Kolojonggo (a pseudonym for the hamlet in which I did my field research) gave me came a few days after I had settled there. Walking aimlessly along a hamlet path, I found a house, or more precisely a building, that looked different from other houses in the hamlet. It was taller than the other houses and had a loud speaker on top of the roof. Getting closer, I recognised that it was a *masjid* (mosque). I could see the place for ablution, decorations taking the shape of the dome and a large hall inside the building. The reason I was surprised at the presence of a *masjid* in Kolojonggo, a scene which might not surprise anyone from Yogyakarta, was simple: I had not expected hamlets (*dusun*) in rural Yogyakarta to have their own *masjid* (Kim, 1996:1).

This is a direct and honest remark from Kim that the knowledge obtained from reading books did not give him an adequate picture of Javanese reality.

Kim did his research in Kolojonggo, a reformist village in a Yogyakarta rural area, after two months wandering around Yogyakarta to find a village for his research. His decision was not because it was a perfect village for research on religion. He took it after realising the complexity of religious life in Yogyakarta. This religious situation gave him the impression that, "if I wanted to find a place where villagers might show their strong attachment to Islam or 'Javanism', I could easily do so" (1996:17). He witnessed the increased number of people going to the mosque to perform prayers, and the number of Muslim women wearing *jilbab* in their office work. On the one hand, during the celebration of *gerebeg mulud*, celebrating the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad in front of the *kraton* Yogyakarta, the sound he heard "from loudspeakers was not the recitation of Arabic prayers but popular music called *dangdut*", exposing the sexual attributes of its female singers (1996:17). On another occasion, he visited a *kebatinan* group conducting their ritual congregation which was attended by people of various ages and backgrounds, thus negating Geertz's claim that *kebatinan* are organised by one social group.

Impressed by the complexity, diversity and sometimes contrasting manifestation of religion, he then focused his research on examining the "multiplicity of Islamic expression" and its social and cultural context. Opposing the assumption of a single dominant interpretation of Islam that characterises Muslim life, this approach emphasises, Kim argued, the diverse discourses and practices of Muslim life. His primary concerns were twofold: on the one hand, he attempted to look at the way reformists defined the concept of the quality of "Muslim-ness"; and on the other

hand, he observed the way in which the concept of "Muslim-ness" interacts when confronting other religious groups (1996:18-19). Kim rejected Pranowo's thesis that the growing Islamisation in Java has been directed more toward traditional Islam (1996:108). Kim argued that Pranowo's thesis concluded this because he studied in a village where the villagers strongly supported traditional Islam.

Pranowo (1993) studied the process of Islamisation in a village of former members of the PKI (the Indonesian Communist Party). To avoid massacre by the Indonesian Army, they were forced to embrace one of the religions acknowledged by the Indonesian government. Most, if not all the ex-members of the PKI in Tegalrejo, embraced Islam. The process of becoming Muslims in Tegalrejo, Pranowo argued, was clearly shown by the villagers' active participation in religious practices. In the course of around 10 years, the village was totally transformed into an Islamic village, when a *pesantren* was established there. Nevertheless, Pranowo argued that though villagers considered themselves as Muslims, many of them still practised gambling, which is forbidden in Islam. Despite all their activities, they paid respect to the *kyai* as someone who had prayed to God for the prosperity of the village.

However, when Kim studied in the reformist village in Kolojonggo, he found that the growing Islamisation had been directed to reformist Islam. Kim's findings challenged the previous common beliefs on the concept of religiosity. Muhaimin, for example, argued that people in Cirebon classified someone as Muslim if they confessed the *syahadat*. Significantly, however, villagers in Kolojonggo argued that "formal and oral confession" is not enough. Practicing prescribed Islamic norms should follow the oral confession. In the old days, according to the villagers' recollections, having been circumcised was also regarded as a sign of becoming a Muslim. For reformists, opposing the traditional Islam

concept of Muslim-ness, the confession of *syahadat* is only a beginning. Motivated by a religious impulse to increase the quality and degree of Muslim-ness, reformist programs advocated various methods. Kim listed three important ways used by reformists in Kolojonggo to improve the quality of Muslim-ness. Firstly were the attempts to Islamise all aspects of villagers' everyday life. Reformist activists in Kolojonggo attempted to maximise the practice of religious activities such as *pengajian* (public sermons). The *pengajian* is conducted according to age, by children, youths or older people. Apart from this, reformists also urged people to perform diligently the *ibadat wajib* (prescribed *ibadat*) such as praying five times a day and fasting in the month of *Ramadhan*. For reformists, the seriousness of one's observance of *ibadat wajib* signifies the quality of a person's piousness. Moreover, in their social life, they also remember to obey Islamic laws such as avoiding gambling and drinking alcohol.

Secondly, reformists also attempted to Islamise village traditions by imparting new religious meaning into older practices. For example, reformists in Kolojonggo gave new meaning in accordance with Islamic teachings to the food prepared for *slametan*. For example, *apem* (pancake-like cake), *kolak* (sweet soup with banana and cassava) and *ketan* (sticky rice), were imbued with Islamic relevance (Kim, 1996:170-171). *Kolak* is, it was said, taken from *Qaala* (Arabic) meaning speech, *apem* derives from *'afwum* (Arabic) meaning asking forgiveness. In addition, in Islamising village traditions, reformists invented or created new traditions. Reformists regarded the old *slametan* that was conducted only by distributing food and reciting *tahlil* as not good enough. They proposed to improve the *slametan* at funeral ceremonies by reciting the Qur'an (1996:177-187).

The third attempt of modernists to promote or increase the quality of Muslim-ness was by replacing the old spirits' names with names

existing in Islam. For example, the bad spirits were then named Satan or bad *jin* (*jin jahat*), and the good spirits renamed angels and good *jin* (*jin baik*) (1996:207-220).

From his findings, Kim argued that there is a different way to articulate the quality of Muslim-ness. The previous assumption, as held by Woodward, Miyazaki and Muhaimin, that Muslim life is interpreted in a single religious discourse is not true. The reformist effort to increase the quality of religiosity, not only by the *syahadat* and circumcision, but also by activating religious practices, is a challenge to the sole claim of understanding Islam based on traditional Islam. For the reformist, the status of Islam is a designation exclusive to those who seriously and strictly practise Islamic teachings (Kim, 1996:14).

However, Kim further argued that when reformists face groups outside Islam, they change their criteria, and accept as Muslims those who only confessed *syahadat* and practised circumcision. When reformists encountered the coming of Christianity in the village of Kolojonggo, they included Muslim KTP, or nominal Muslims who acknowledged Islam but did not practise it, as Muslim.

Kim's strength is apparent in his ethnographically-rich account of the practise of reformism and Christianity in the village. The fact that two communities, Muslim and Christian, accepted him openly enabled him to get a deeper explanation of the discourse that underlies religious practices. His contribution to the understanding of Islam in Java is that, in addition to the similar observations of Nakamura on the ongoing process of "*santrinisasi*" of village life in Yogyakarta, his findings provide evidence that reformist ideas, which were accused by some Muslim scholars of not being put into cultural practice, are well implemented by their supporters. His presentation of the fact that reformists rejected the notion of a definition of Muslim-ness based only on oral confession and

circumcision, demonstrated the existence of other ways of interpreting Muslim life.

However, despite Kim's portrayal of the well-established reformist practices in Kolojonggo, he failed to detail the response of other Muslim groups to their practices. It may be that in Kolojonggo there was no strong opposition from other Muslim groups to reformist activities. However, sensing the strong challenge from the reformist group to old practices, I doubt that there was no response at all to it. Once, Mbah Gerobag, a prominent follower of Javanised Islam in Basin where I did my fieldwork, described the activity of reformists in purifying religion as *ngarit rumput* (cutting the grass) to indicate his strong opposition to reformist practice which had gone "too far" (*kebablasan*). I believe that the accommodational stance taken by reformists in Kolojonggo was a result of a strong push from other Muslim groups. Kim seemingly implied that the accommodational tactics of the reformists were taken voluntarily.

My study on popular Islam centred on the Islam that is understood, interpreted and put it into practice in Basin and Jatinom villages, providing a range of data which I hope will contribute to the study of Islam in Java. Basin village is in a way like Kolojonggo village, which for a few decades has gone through a process of becoming a reformist village. On the other hand, Basin used to be a village like the Kalitengah village in Muhaimin's thesis. The villagers' practices and passions about Islam were in line with traditional Islam. Their understanding about the quality of Muslim-ness was similar to how villagers in Cirebon explained it to Muhaimin. Furthermore, there is no doubt that, although it was more prevalent in individual cases, there have been individuals trapped within two cultural domains: Javanese traditions inherited from their ancestors (*nenek moyang*), and Islamic traditions. Therefore, this thesis demonstrates

the pluralistic voices of Islam that, in the process of social interaction, characterise a struggle to find the right formula for interpreting Islam.

Social, economic and political aspects of Basin village have influenced the way in which these various interpretations of Islam interact with each other. At the same time, the social, economic and political life of the village cannot be separated from its religious life.

3. *Desa Santri and Desa Apem*

Basin is a village consisting of four hamlets (*dukuh*): Nglarang, Basin, Kebonarum and Sambeng. Basin hamlet, the biggest of the four, provides the central administration of Basin village. The village administration, government schools, Muhammadiyah schools, large mosques, and the traditional market are located in Basin hamlet. In neighbouring villages, Basin is known as a "*Desa Santri*" because its people perform Islamic duties seriously. However, the villagers deny the ascription because there is no *pesantren* in the village. Muslims in Basin define the meaning of *santri* as a person who has studied in a *pesantren*. In addition to *Desa Santri*, Basin is also well known as "*Desa Muhammadiyah*". The Muhammadiyah organisation actively organises religious teaching in the village and surrounding villages. The Muhammadiyah schools, ranging from kindergarten to high school, have been established in Basin hamlet, and attract many students from within Basin village as well as neighbouring villages.

Basin people are actively involved in *dakwah* (spreading Islam). *Turba*, which literally means *Turun ke Bawah* (to go down to the villages), refers to *dakwah* activities to spread Islam to neighbouring villages. Religious teachers volunteer to teach Islam in other villages.

The population of Basin is around 4000 people, most of whom are Muslims who mainly reside in Basin hamlet. There are about 13 *langgar*

(small mosques) and two large mosques used for Friday prayer in Basin. Catholics are the second largest group and reside in Nglarang and Kebonarum. Before establishing a Catholic Church in a neighbouring village, Catholics performed their religious services in the home of a former *sinder* (tobacco field supervisor) in Basin hamlet. There are also a few Protestants and Buddhists in Basin. Religious harmony is well maintained in the village. There is no record at all of conflicts based on religious grounds.

In Basin hamlet, village religious organisation consists of two systems: the system which used to be known as *kondangan* (*grup kondangan*) and the system of *langgar* (*jama'ah langgar*). The former is based on a neighbourhood group residing in the same block. The group emerges when villagers perform *kondangan* (another name for *slametan*) together. In social affairs, such as helping to fix a house or road, the *kondangan* group plays a major role in organisation. The system of *langgar* consists of people who recite prayers together in the *langgar*. The group is important when the people are dealing with religious affairs such as performing *tahlil* or organising religious ceremonies such as funerals and marriages. When performing *tahlil*, a member of a *langgar* will invite friends in the same *langgar* system.

In the modern administration, following the establishment of RT (neighbourhood groups) and RW (villagers' group), *kondangan* groups have been transformed into RT groups, whereas *langgar* groups still exist independently of the RT organisation.

A huge irrigated area of fields surrounds Basin village. The people grow two rice crops a year, and once a year their land is hired by the tobacco industry for growing tobacco. Although the leasing money from tobacco is less than from rice production, villagers are willing to lease their fields to the tobacco company as it benefits them. In 1980 Basin was

declared to be a village that had succeeded in promoting compulsory education for children under 15 years old. The existence of two elementary schools, one owned by Muhammadiyah (MIM) and the other a government school (SDN) is behind the education success of Basin. According to Muhammadiyah activists who organise *zakat* (alms collecting) from people in Basin, each year Muhammadiyah has to distribute *zakat* money outside the village. This indicates that the villagers in Basin cannot be categorised as poor.

According to elders, the village's relation to modernist Islam started during the time of Japanese occupation (1942-1945) and the period of early Indonesian Independence (1945-1955). Some Basin youths joined the *Hisbullah* (the troops of God) organised under a modernist organisation. Furthermore, at the time of the rebellion of DI TII (the abode of Islam and the Islamic troops of Indonesia) to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia, some youths from Basin were also involved, and some of them were jailed in Surakarta.

For the last two decades the political affairs in Basin have been dominated by the election of the village chief. The religious involvement in the election has inspired lively elections. The conflict has not been between Muslim and Catholic or Protestant but has been between modernist Muslims, who are associated with Muhammadiyah, and traditionalist Muslims who look to various religious elites. This has provoked great tension. The establishment of a second mosque for Friday prayers was a result of this tension. Previously, Muslims in Basin performed Friday prayers at only one mosque located in the southern part of village. However, the losing group in the election, with backing from a government agent, established the second mosque to demonstrate their separate existence. The first mosque followed the modernist

tradition, whereas the second mosque, to differentiate itself from the first, followed traditionalist practice.

The establishment of the second mosque caused a swing in religious practice in Basin. All the practices of traditionalists in *pesantren* have been re-established. For example, the *tahlil* at the funeral *slametan*, which had been rejected by modernists, has been revived again. *Laras Madya* music, which was used to sing Javanese songs with Islamic teachings, has also been re-established. The *berjanjen* (reciting the narrative by Syaikh Barzanji, describing the story of the Prophet Muhammad) is recited again after it had been neglected for several decades. The revival of traditionalist practices has propelled modernists to accommodate their practices in order to maintain modernist domination in Basin.

The re-emergence of traditionalist Islam in Basin has led to a swing in religious orientation. By first accommodating traditionalist practices to modernist Islam and then swinging back again to follow traditional Islam, Javanese Muslims have attempted to find the right formula to understand and practise Islam in Javanese ways. Apart from the conflict in politics, manifested in the election of the village chief, the villagers believe that the differences in religious practices are no more than an attempt to demonstrate that they are good Javanese Muslims. As Javanese Muslims they are bound between two historical, social and religious contexts—*tasawuf* which tolerates accommodation to the influence of Javanese tradition at the one pole, and *shari'a*, a more formal and legalistic approach of practising Islam, at the other pole. Their quest for the true Islam shifts back and forth between those poles.

In addition to the religious swings in Basin, the diverse understandings of a particular Islamic tradition provide another picture of popular Islam in Java. In Jatnom, about 30 km from Basin, there is a traditional celebration, named the *Angkawiyu*, which is celebrated by

many people. In the old days, Basin people walked to the *Angkawiyu*. The *Angkawiyu* was regarded as a *riyaya* (big and special day) to obtain *apem* that could be taken as a spiritual token for the village's prosperity. The celebration of the *Angkawiyu* is an important religious practice for people in Klaten in general. The *Angkawiyu* is a celebration to commemorate the life of Kyai Ageng Gribig, a *wali* who spread Islam in Jatinom and its surrounding areas, by the distribution of *apem*—a pancake-like cake. As *apem* is the main symbol of the *Angkawiyu*, the celebration is also called *apeman*, meaning "the obtaining of *apem*". The people in Jatinom celebrate the *Angkawiyu* by cooking *apem* as well as by giving alms to the poor. Because of this, the village has been given its nickname, "*Desa Apem*".

The *Angkawiyu*, which is preserved by *juru kunci* (custodians of the graveyard), derives from the Arabic words "*Ya Qawiyyu*", meaning "oh the Most powerful". During the celebration these words are chanted while people compete to receive the *apem* thrown from a bamboo tower in front of the mosque. The celebration of the *Angkawiyu* is also called *saparan*, as it is conducted in the month of *Sapar*, the second month of the Islamic calendar. Jatinom people, at the time of celebrating the *Angkawiyu*, open their houses to others. The main meal during the week of the *Angkawiyu* is *apem*.

The various names used to describe the *Angkawiyu* have significant implications for the way in which people celebrate and interpret the event. Some regard their coming to the *Angkawiyu* as attending a Sufi gathering by reciting the words "*Ya Qawiyyu*". For other people, however, the most important part of the *Angkawiyu* is getting *apem* as a sign of blessing (*baraka*) from Kyai Ageng Gribig. The different interpretations of the significance of the *Angkawiyu* lead to diverse practices. Those people who believe that they are coming to Jatinom to attend a Sufi gathering, perform their visitation in line with Sufi traditions, whereas people who

believe in the spiritual significance of *apem* perform their visitation in their own ways.

Although these people perform different articulations of the *Angkawiyu*, these do not result in conflict. They celebrate the *Angkawiyu* in harmonious ways. The *Angkawiyu* is, as local people believe, a meeting place for their common belief in God. Although they differ in the way in which they approach God, ultimately they believe in the existence of God as manifested in their belief in the religiosity of Kyai Ageng Gribig. If the *Angkawiyu* is regarded as evidence of popular Islam in Java, then it is clear that its main characteristic is a pluralistic understanding of Islam. The rich cultural interaction embodied in the *Angkawiyu* demonstrates the rich and multi-sided nature of popular Islam in Java.

4. Popular Islam in Central Java

It has been a basic premise of all monotheist religions, including Judaism, Christianity and Islam, that the universality of religious teachings is the ultimate divine revelation, valid for all people and for all times. As a result there is a general tendency for followers of these monotheistic religions to practise religion in many different cultures. Orthodox Islam maintains that the *shari'a*, Islamic law defined on the basis of the Qur'an and the Surnah (the tradition of Muhammad), is the ultimate source for Muslims all over the world. The Islamic *shari'a* has to be taken up by every Muslim to be his/her guide for life. However, in reality, Islam (religion) as a cultural system, to borrow Geertz's (1971) concept, creates different religious and social phenomena and constantly adopts different guises at the regional level.

The differentiation between formal and popular religion is a general phenomenon of perennial conflict, especially in monotheistic religions. Because the monotheistic religions have sacred books that are viewed as

the ultimate revelation from God, the tendency for conflict between formal and popular religion is considerable (Vrijhof, 1979:674). In Islam, however, the terms formal and popular are rather problematic, as it is difficult to identify which group is the official one. This contrasts with Christianity, which historically has played a major role in determining official religion when, along with the emergence of the nation-state, the Christian Church developed a growing power and authority in religious affairs (Vrijhof, 1979). Waardenburg (1979), therefore, suggested the use of normative Islam and popular Islam to overcome problematic identification.

Nicholson (1989) has said that in Islam there are two general platforms for understanding. The first is based on the *shari'a* interpretation as the ultimate, universal and sole guide for Muslims. The second platform is mainly taken by Sufi Islam, which bases its teachings on the concept of *tariqa*. Literally *tariqa* means "a way". In Sufism, *tariqa* consist of religious practices such as *dhikr* (reciting certain words from the Qur'an) and continuous fasting to achieve ultimate union with God. Sufism allows different *tariqa* for achieving union with God, and this has led to the emergence of various *tariqa*. It also means that Sufism demonstrates a sort of pluralistic understanding of Islam. Unlike the *shari'a* approach, Sufism provides an opportunity to articulate Islam in a local context, which thus represents a microcosm within the Muslim world shaped by social, historical and structural factors.

Sufi Islam, as studied by many scholars in African, Persian, Indian and Indonesian societies, represents the religious philosophy of popular religion. In Africa, scholars such as Trimingham (1971), Evans-Pritchard (1973), Eickelman (1976), Gilsenan (1973) and Gellner (1969), among others, have argued that the *tariqa*, which demonstrate various ritual practices and understandings of Islam, can be regarded as the

representation of popular Islam in Africa. When looked at in its regional context, the *tariqa* have spread into many areas outside the Arab regions. These numerous variants document a fusion between Islam and non-Islamic indigenous culture. While the *shari'a* approach calls for a unified or universal Islam, Sufi traditions manifested in various *tariqa* permit pluralistic ways of approaching God.

Waardenburg citing Ibn Taimiya, a prominent Muslim scholar in the early fourteenth century, commented that popular Islam has been developed through "borrowing from religions other than Islam" (1979:341). Ibn Taimiya argued that Islam is based on a concept of *tauhid*, which requires Muslims to strictly obey the principle of *tauhid*—testifying to the perfect oneness of God (Memon, 1976). Any ritual practices that are deviant to the concept of *tauhid* are regarded as *shirk* (worshipping other than the one God). However, Bassam Tibi did not agree with these arguments, especially when borrowing from non-Islamic traditions was described as violating the principle of Islamic teachings (Tibi, 1991). Using Geertz's concept of Islam as a "cultural system" he claimed that Islam is a model "for and of reality". The emergence of regional Islam demonstrates the inevitable accommodation between Islam and the local context. Muhaimin in a convincing argument maintained that because of the concept of *tauhid*, the interaction of local culture in Islamic practices can be promoted. This means that, according to Muhaimin (1995), *tauhid* is the only parameter to determine the value of ritual practices. In other words, contrary to the argument of Taimiya, Muhaimin has argued that as long as activities do not violate Islamic principles, and have correct intentions, those activities, whether ritual or not, are *ibadah* (pious activities).

However, although Tibi and Muhaimin echoed the same argument in favour of local or regional Islamic practices, they had different intellectual grounding. Tibi, as can be seen from the insightful discussions

in his books, exposes the inevitability of the influence of other traditions in Islam to demonstrate the ongoing process of "cultural accommodation of social change in Islam". If there was an abundance of evidence in the history of Islam that Islam had accommodated other traditions, this would mean that Islam should continue to adapt to changing social settings. For example, he advocated acceptance of the ideas of democracy and human rights as a historical necessity of Islam. The universal nature of Islam, Tibi (1991, 1998) argued, is based on the readiness of Islam to appropriate the local context.

Muhaimin, on the other hand, argued for the inseparable nature of Islam and local context from the perspective of traditionalist Islam. In Java the accommodation of older Javanese traditions which do not contradict Islamic principles, into Islamic practices encouraged the deep acceptance of Islam by the Javanese. Islam in Java is regarded as a cultural element which is added to older Javanese traditions, without displacing them. The same argument can also be found in Africa where Islam has been accepted as an integral part of Berber and Bedouin customs (Evans-Pritchard, 1973; Gellner, 1969; Trimmingham, 1971). Muhaimin based his argument on the reality that Javanese traditions have been interpreted in Islamic ways. The concept of *niyat* (intention) is a crucial point in traditionalist Islam. The quality and meaning of actions, whether religious or social, are determined by their intention. Bowen, in discussing modernist and traditionalist discourses, also found that *niyat* is a critical factor in judging religious activity. For traditionalists, *niyat* has to be declared when one performs a certain activity. This is because the *niyat* will determine the meaning and quality of the action. By relying on this concept of *niyat*, Muhaimin provided a religious argument that legitimates the acceptance of regional characteristics in Islamic activities.

The arguments of Tibi and Muhaimin first identified that the religious-political consequences of religious social interaction with various given cultures result in the multiple voices of Islam. The many variants of Islam, ranging from what may be called Indo-Islam, African Islam, Persian Islam to Javanese Islam, are reflections of how Islam has been adopted by various cultures and has been integrated into local traditions. Various forms of Islam are logical consequences of the process of cultural synthesis which occurs when Islam enters into a certain cultural setting.

There is no doubt that the tension between the sacred concept of reality and reality itself is reflected in the tension between legal and popular Islam. The former inspired the monolithic claim of Islamic universalism based on *shari'a* as the source of its legal provisions. The latter was mainly shaped in the dynamic course of Islamic history by borrowing from and accommodating to various cultures in order to accommodate social change in Islam and put these changes into practice. It is this line of argument that forms the focal point of interest for this thesis.

Defining popular Islam as "Islam as it is practised" in a certain locality, by no means separates this Islam from what is called legal Islam. A characteristic of what is widely known as popular Islam involves the practice of Sufism and of various religious practices and beliefs have been adopted from outside Islam. However, referring to Tibi and Muhaimin's arguments, it seems that there is no group that is not influenced by tradition outside Islam. Take for example the modernist movement that is considered to be the group that promotes the existence of universal Islam based on the *shari'a*. At the praxis level, as clearly seen in Java, the modernists have accommodated other cultures in promoting their ideas. For example, the use of the classical method in the modernist schooling system is taken from the Western system of schooling. Furthermore, when

modernists promote Western style clothes such as ties and long trousers, traditionalists consider them to behave like infidels. It seems that both modernists and traditionalists use the same reason to reject the other's activities. On the one hand, modernists reject the intrusion of the old Javanese cultures into Islamic practices and consider them as violating Islamic principles. On the other hand, traditionalists reject the introduction of modern styles in either education or behaviour as an infidel act. Therefore, if we define popular Islam as "borrowing other traditions", it will be difficult to determine which Islamic tradition is not popular Islam.

The interrelationship between Islam and other cultures is the most interesting aspect of the process. The boundaries are not static, meaning that the processes of defining religious orientation may overlap. In this context it is worth mentioning two concepts introduced by Redfield (1956, 1968), "the Great Tradition" and "the Little Tradition". Hodgson used this distinction to examine the various manifestations of Islam in a number of societies. Because of its interaction with local cultures, the expression of Islam in a society—that is the little tradition of Islam—will differ between societies. However, since Islam has the same sacred textual sources, the Qur'an and the Sunnah, these little traditions all echo Islam in its universal form—the great tradition of Islam (Hodgson, 1974a).

In this thesis, popular Islam meaning Islam that is practised and interpreted in accordance with local context is considered to be "the true Islam". To reach this ultimate religious goal, one may proceed through various ways of understanding Islam. These differences may indicate the level of religious understanding one has reached. On the other hand, they may demonstrate the many ways to grasp the truth of religious understanding. The emergence of various religious orientations with their different ways of understanding Islam indicates the ongoing process

connecting Islam in Java with the wider context of Islam as a whole. This means that the different interpretations in Java are part of the global debate in Islam.

5. Islamic Religious Orientation

The deep influence of Islam in Javanese society, as Hodgson has argued, means that Islam constitutes the primary determining factor of political culture in Java. In its manifestation, however, Islam in Java is itself a historical revelation, meaning that in the course of its development Islam has taken on historically varied and culturally specific forms. To understand the presence of Islam in a certain locality, therefore, one has to consider the nature of popular Islam and the degree of importance which people attach to Islam. Islam in Java therefore has to be studied in terms of what the Javanese Muslims really do and believe about Islam.

There is no doubt that the variants *abangan*, *santri* and *priyayi* identified by Geertz some decades ago may still exist, though their significance has decreased. For example, the term *santri* is used ambiguously by the Javanese. On the one hand, it is used to describe a pious Muslim or the status of a village as a Muslim village. Basin village, which is well known as a prominent centre of the Muhammadiyah organisation in Klaten, is called "*desa santri*" by outsiders. However, on the other hand, the use of the term *santri* is restricted to people who study or have studied in a *pesantren*. Therefore, even though a Muslim knows and performs Islamic duties well, he/she would not be called *santri* if he/she had never studied in a *pesantren*.

In addition, the social base of these variants—*abangan* adherents are based on the agricultural sector, *santri* in the market place, and *priyayi* in the bureaucracy—has also changed. Pranowo's research in a frontier village in Magelang found that a village which previously was dominated

by members of PKI (the Communist Party), which was banned by the Indonesian government after the 1965 conflict, had changed into a *pesantren* village (Pranowo, 1991). Pranowo argued that there has been an active process of Islamisation in Javanese society. Therefore Pranowo maintained that those three variants, or other social groupings based on religion, are not static groupings. Such religious orientations have more meaning as social identifiers than as elements of an ideological discourse or the basis of social structure.²

Kim also argues that there has been a continuous process of Islamisation of village traditions. In Yogyakarta, the place where the *kraton* still stands as a symbol of Javanese hegemony, and the Muhammadiyah organisation, the biggest reformist organisation in Indonesia, has its base, there have been ongoing processes of Islamisation. These processes can be seen in the way in which people attempt to Islamise their lives and village traditions. The process of Islamisation takes place in two ways: firstly, by increasing the number of religious activities such as religious gatherings and religious teachings; secondly, by making links in everyday life to provide a public sphere to reflect the people's religiosity (Kim, 1996:147). In Islamising village tradition, reformists take "an accommodational position to locate traditional practices in the context of Islam by imparting new meanings to them" (Kim, 1996:187).

In Klaten, especially in Basin where Muhammadiyah dominates the religious discourse, the process of what is called by Kim the "Islamisation of everyday life and village traditions" can be explained in various ways. The reformists' rejection of the customs and rituals considered as "not-Islamic" was mainly based on economic principles. According to the

² Pranowo maintained that the change of religiosity in that village was not caused by the conversion of people. Rather he said that the change was from "not yet a good Muslim to a good Muslim" (Pranowo, 1991).

modernist view, the rituals and customs were usually performed to the financial detriment of individuals. Preparation for a *slametan*, for example, needed a significant amount of money, especially for the poor. Because these customs and rituals were regarded as sacred activities that should be performed by all people, there were no excuses for people not to perform them. It is also true, however, that theological reasons were used in Basin to reject non-Islamic activities.

There is an interesting process occurring in Basin. Although modernists have succeeded in dominating the religious discourse, as manifested in the way in which religious activities are managed and explained, there is a swing back to the old practices. After the modernist religious view dominated for some decades, some people in Basin attempted to observe the older practices, previously rejected by the modernists, such as *slametan* ceremonies. The reason behind the reappearance of these old practices is a political one. Previously Muhammadiyah-inspired modernist Islam dominated the religious discourse and influenced social and political affairs. This can be seen from the influential role of Muhammadiyah in the success of the election of village chief for some decades.

However, when the conflict over the election occurred, especially among the elites, there emerged a new group which was opposed to Muhammadiyah's domination. To gain support among people who were religious in nature, this new group had to base its existence on religious factors. Because of its opposition to Muhammadiyah, this new group adopted religious practices which were different from Muhammadiyah. For example, if Muhammadiyah promoted the *pengajian* (religious teachings) in a house by reading the Qur'an and engaging in its exegesis, this new group conducted the *pengajian* in the mosque by reciting *tahlil* and long *dhikr*. In performing *slametan* for the dead, the modernists

recited the Qur'an and believed that the subsequent reward (*pahala*) for it would return to the reader, whereas this new group followed traditional Islam performing *slametan* with *tahlil* and *dhikr*.

The return to the old practices was a reflection of the group's disagreement with modernist views. The cause of the swing was politically driven. Although the debate appeared on the level of religious discourse, the conflict was more apparent in the social and political arena. Because of the strong commitment to Islam, the group had to take up religious issues as their basis. Reinventing old religious practices such as *tahlil*, *slametan* and traditional songs, as in the *Laras Madya* orchestra, was a way of gaining supporters.

This was quite different to the way in which the modernists had established themselves in the village. The introduction of their activities was mainly motivated by the religious impulse to purify the religious practices in the village from non-Islamic influences. Inspired by the modernist success in other regions, the modernist organisation promoted its ideas by means of education. The strong support from the youth made the modernist organisation develop rapidly. Finally the strong support for the modernist view generated influence in social and political affairs.

Although the re-emergence of old practices has not gained much support, politically and religiously their existence marks a new religious landscape. Because of the lack of support from the local people, this new group invited supporters from outside villages. Through their association with traditional Islam, these people have established their own community.

This new group has had a significant impact on religious discourse in the village. The introduction of religious practices taken from traditional Islam forced the modernists to accommodate these changes. The modernists had previously strongly rejected such practices and

considered them as non-Islamic activities that had to be banned. However, sensing the strong support for these practices, the modernists attempted to observe the practices by giving them new religious meaning deriving from Islam. Kim aptly categorised these practices as the accommodation of the old by the imparting of a new interpretation. However, unlike Kim, I consider that the accommodation of local traditions is a result of the strong push from the people who still believe in them. In describing the compromise approach in Yogya, Kim seems to suggest that the appearance of this approach is a voluntary choice made by modernists, ignoring the push from people outside the modernist group.

As Harun Nasution (1974, 1985) argued, the emergence of an Islamic orientation which can be grouped in many different ways is politically driven. When the interpretation of religion is coloured by political interest, the group will strengthen. It seems that the re-emergence of the traditional Islamic orientation in Basin village, which will be discussed in detail in later chapters, has been accelerated by political motivation. Although it is true that, in terms of religion, each group has based its ideas on theological concepts in Islam, the conflict reached its peak when it was touched by political conflict. In Basin, there may have been different views of Islam, but these differences did not create serious conflict. But when one group became involved in political affairs, for example by supporting a political agenda, the difference in religious understanding accelerated into social and political conflict.

Having said that, this thesis does not want to deny that religious variants can lead to social or religious conflict. Furthermore, it does not want to neglect the fact that people in Java understand Islam in different ways. The deep influence of Islam by no means implies uniformity of belief or practice in Java. There is no doubt that people have different

interpretations of Islam, and follow different religious movements. These differences, whether grouped in a dichotomy between normative piety and mystical piety, or in the variants of *abangan*, *santri* or *priyayi*, or in terms of firm and less firm believers, demonstrate various ways of understanding Islam. It is in this reality, consisting of the multiple voices and practices of Islam in Java, that defines the discourse of Islam as the dominant factor in religious discussion in Java. Moreover, it is these popular forms that assure that Islam in Java has found its home.

6. Social Experience and Cultural Dialogue

Evans-Pritchard posed a serious question about how an observer of religious studies should view religious phenomena. As religious activities and practices involve a believing situation, the truth of the meaning of religious phenomena cannot be understood without believing them (Evans-Pritchard, 1973). Moreover, Gilsenan (1982) argues that a religion such as Islam will result in various practices and interpretations when it is practised in a certain social and cultural environment. In order to believe one has to at least appreciate practice.

Evans-Pritchard's question is concerned with two important factors, firstly the degree to which "subjectivity" of social practice is inevitable. When asked about the sacredness of a saint, or *marabout* in the African term, a follower of Sufism would answer with stories of the saint's capability in performing magical acts and his extraordinary spiritual appearance. The transmission of a saint's *baraka* (blessing) through visiting his tomb can only be explained by people who believe in it. Similarly, when people in Jatinom Klaten were asked about their scramble (*rebutan*) for *apem* in the *Angkawiyu*, which will be considered in detail in a later chapter, they answered from their personal experience which may differ from others. An informant explained that:

The struggle (*rebutan*) for *apem* is not merely getting *apem*. There is spiritual meaning behind the action. If I would like to have *apem* as such, it might be better for the organiser to give the *apem* to the people in order. However, *rebutan apem* is a spiritual action, meaning that it delivers a symbol of personal gain in a spiritual way. This means that if in the *slametan* you obtained *apem*, this indicates that you had obtained a spiritual blessing from Kyai Ageng Gribig.

If we looked at the way in which the *apem* is made, it does not differ from other *apem* that you can buy in the market. The taste, the shape and the colour of *apem* in the *Angkawiyu* is the same as in the market. But how can people seriously struggle for *apem* in the *Angkawiyu*? This is because the *apem* in the *Angkawiyu* is believed to have a spiritual blessing (*baraka*) from the saint. When I got *apem* from the *Angkawiyu*, my heart felt satisfied. I did not eat the *apem*, but I used it for spiritual purposes as a medicine or a fertiliser for crops.

Such a spiritual explanation of the meaning of *rebutan apem* cannot be fully appreciated without personally believing it. The general implication of this point in the present work is that, as the Javanese acknowledge, religious phenomena, in their generic form, are personal experiences relating to the existence of God. This raises a second and more important point. When speaking of religious experience based on personal explanation, it is important to remember that there exist diverse spheres of religious knowledge. From this perspective, the image of religion as a universal practice, which may be the view of some orthodox Muslims, is not very helpful, since it risks obscuring the fact that religious experience is anything but uniform and shared.

These issues are relevant for understanding the pluralistic nature of Islam in Java. Since personal experience plays a major role in giving meaning to religious practices, the diverse understanding of Islam in Java has spread widely. Evans-Pritchard's question on the problem of believing in religion is taken in this context as a point of departure to examine the subjective interpretation of religious experience. From this perspective, Woodward's (1989:7-8) use of the interpretations of people who practise religion is an example of using personal religious experience to explain religious phenomena. In his study on the relation between normative piety and mysticism in Java, Woodward argues that there is a

strong tendency for Javanese to understand religion in a personal way. Muhaimin's analysis of the importance of the position of *niyat* (intention) in traditional Islam also emphasises personal religious experience. The difference between the religious sphere and mundane sphere is determined by the personal *niyat* of an action (Muhaimin, 1995).

Another implication of viewing religious phenomena through experience is the place of local context in the process of religious formation. Religious experience which considers the social context in religious formation is an acknowledgment that religious knowledge and practice, in any given society, assumes a direct correspondence to social structure (Eickelman, 1976; 1990). The different religious forms can be observed in the way religion is transmitted and the way in which religious social changes occur. In Java, the transmission of knowledge is mainly by means of oral tradition which is coloured by individual interpretation of this knowledge (Hefner, 1985). For example, the Sufi knowledge of Kyai Ageng Gribig is transmitted orally through the network of *juru kunci* (the custodians of the tomb of the Kyai Ageng Gribig). Although the *juru kunci* may receive the knowledge from the same person in the same generation, their reproduction of this knowledge differs.³ The survival of religious traditions in a society depends on the social environments where a religion exists. For example, in recent times, the use of a modernist perspective to interpret the *Angkawiyu* is due to the domination of modernist discourse in Jatinom. However, when the traditionalist orientation re-emerged, the interpretation of the *Angkawiyu* in Jatinom was influenced by traditional Islam. A detailed description of this will be provided in the chapter regarding the *Angkawiyu*.

Hefner and Eickelman argue that the social experience of a certain locality will influence the way in which local knowledge is understood.

³ In the story of the genealogy of Kyai Ageng Gribig, *juru kunci* provided many versions. A

The interaction between local tradition and Islam, as Tibi showed, has become a prominent phenomenon in Islamic history. Since its beginning, Islam has actively adopted other cultures which did not violate the basic principle of Islam. The emergence of what Tibi has called regional Islam—Arabic Islam, Persian Islam, African Islam and Malay Islam—has shown that Islam is inevitably influenced by social context. On the other hand, the influence of Islam in those regions demonstrates the contribution of Islam in shaping their cultural forms. This process of interaction between Islam and local cultures can be called cultural dialogue (Fischer and Abedi, 1990).

More extended discussion of the topic will be given in the following chapters. Chapter II extends the discussion of the development of local Islam in Java. The process is examined in two ways. Firstly, the presence of Islam on Java is seen through its social, political and religious roles. In this regard, the role of Islam is traced through its function in building "identity", whether social, political or religious. Secondly, the use of local knowledge to interpret Islam has produced popular Islam that is coloured by the regional context. The local understanding of Islam is a logical consequence of religious reaction to the change of social settings. It should be self-evident to the anthropologist of religion that an examination of Islam, or indeed any other religion, in a regional realm can never be achieved without considering the given social context or *fait social* in the Durkheimian sense. The main concern of chapter II is to provide a basis for the study of Islam in one locality.

Chapters III and IV, which focus on the debate concerning the rhetorical discourse on Islamic orientations, describe the flow of religious change in one village. Using Basin village as the field of ethnography, the discourse on religious orientation explores the relationship between Islam

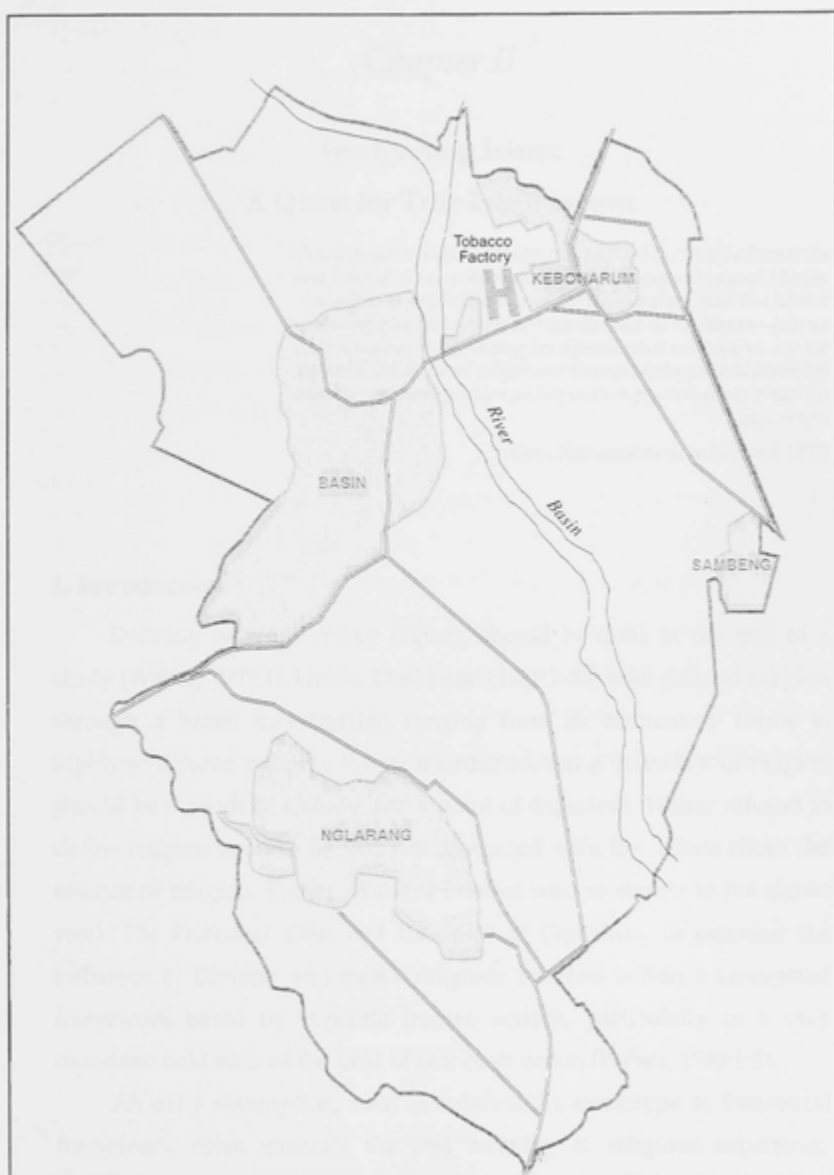
full description of this will be provided in a later chapter.

and local cultures in terms of changing religious orientations. In this chapter, three broad groups of religious orientations—modernist, traditionalist, and Javanised Islam—are used to represent the trend of religious orientations. Using Gellner's (1984) concept of a "pendulum swing", changes in religious orientation are examined. In Java, modernists are assumed to be the group who draw religious practices to the *shari'a* pole—which stress more on the legalistic Islam, and Javanised Islam represents the group that drags them to the understanding of Islam through *tasawuf* combines with Javanese mysticism. The *shari'a*, advocating the practice of religion as prescribed in the Qur'an and the Sunnah, gives emphasis to formal rituals, whereas *tasawuf*, in stressing the esoteric meaning of Islamic rituals, gives emphasis to the spiritual aspect of Islam. Between them is traditionalist Islam which maintains a balanced stand towards the presence of Islam in Java. The teaching of *pesantren* in Java endeavours to blend these two understandings and practices.

Chapter V focuses on the celebration of the *Angkawiyu* and its diverse interpretations. The pluralist understanding of the *Angkawiyu* is taken to illustrate the way Islam tends to be understood. The multiplicities of religious interpretations underlying the celebration mark a characteristic of popular Islam in Java. The discussion is then continued in chapter VI, which describes the theological stance of these various voices of Islam. Discontinuity and continuity are seen to be a significant aspect of Javanese religiosity.

Chapter VII develops a general idea from the previous chapters. The shift back and forth between poles in Islamic religious orientation and the multiplicity of Islamic voices are among the main characteristics of popular Islam in Java. Popular Islam is meant to describe Islam as it is practised, and thus, includes all Islamic religious practices in Java. The diverse understanding of Islam in Java, it is argued in this chapter, is an

indication of multiple ways of determining true Islam in Java. It is argued that the various interpretations of Islam should not be seen as ends in themselves. The dynamic and rich religious accommodation of different social settings in many Muslim societies is reflected in the ability of Javanese Muslims to respond to social change.



Four hamlets in Basin village

Chapter II

Interpreting Islam: A Quest for True Islam in Java

When it comes to relations between men and God one should adhere to the pure forms of Islam, not the syncretic form. We cannot be a good Muslim and adhere to polytheistic or animistic beliefs and practices. But when it comes to ordering the relations between man and his neighbours—how we live in society—each grouping has different needs and customs. I do not believe that a universal religion or a national ideology should attempt to eradicate customary practices, as long as those practices do not violate the basic tenets.

(Dewi Fortuna Anwar in Naipaul, 1998)

1. Introduction

Defining religion, Weber argued, should be done at the end of a study (Weber, 1993:1). Unlike Durkheim (1965:1-63) who defined religion through a broad investigation ranging from its elementary forms to highly structured religion, Weber maintained that a definition of religion should be a result of a study, not a point of departure. Weber refused to define religion because he was not concerned with the debate about the essence of religion. Rather, Weber's interest was, as shown in his classic work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, to examine the influence of Divinity and men's religious interests within a conceptual framework based on concrete human actions, particularly in a very mundane field such as the field of economic action (Weber, 1993:1-3).

An early assumption, such as a definition, stereotype or theoretical framework, often conceals the real meaning of religious experience. Gilson acknowledged that when he studied Islam in different social settings—one in a marginal area of Egypt, one in a royal family

descended from the Prophet Muhammad (*sayyid* and *sayyidah*) in Yemen and another in a "semi-feudal sector of Lebanese society"—he experienced forms of Islam "so different and so similar" (Gilsenan, 1982:12). In studying Islam, Marshall Hodgson argued, some scholars, especially Western scholars, have been guided by preconceptions. Geertz's *Religion of Java* is an obvious example of the influence of a pre-assumption about Islam, namely the influence of "a certain school of modern *shari'ah*-minded Muslims" (Hodgson, 1974b:551).

Furthermore, heavy reliance on the existence of historical evidence limits the study of Islam in a local context. Historical documents give only inadequate and scattered accounts of what ordinary people were supposed to believe, and then only as seen through the eyes of literate specialists whose own position often included the tacit or overt proposition that this could not be true Islam. Although it is true that historical accounts provide a background to the formation of culture and its change in a certain society, there is a need to observe the people's actions and behaviours. The people who are involved have to be given scope to interpret and articulate their behaviour. Eickelman argues that both historical and "social experience" approaches interweave in the narratives and explanations that religious discourses present (Eickelman, 1976; Eickelman and Piscatory, 1990; Hefner, 1985).

Studying Islam in a certain locality requires consideration and observation of the empirical experience of religious practices in the local context. Hodgson argued that when two traditions meet, for example Islam and local traditions, there will always be the opportunity to influence each other. Hodgson called the process of this interaction "the dialectic of cultural traditions" (1974a:79). Nasr (1987) also argued that the religious development of Islam is established through a long history of interpretations and interactions with many cultures.

It is the argument of *kyai* in Java that the establishment of Islam there is a result of a continuous link with the Prophet Muhammad. The *kyai* constitute the intellectual chain to maintain the originality and the continuous link with the source of Islam (Dhofier, 1985). However, without neglecting the influence of local cultures on Islamic practices, *kyai* in Java maintain close ties with local cultures. The existence of *pesantren* is a symbol of this argument. On the one hand, *pesantren* are institutions which teach Islamic knowledge that preserves the intellectual chains with early Islamic scholars. On the other hand, *pesantren* are social institutions where *santri*, the pupils of the *pesantren*, and *kyai* are involved with local cultures.

While there is no doubt that Islamic practices in Java have some similarities with Islamic practices in other societies, there are also some differences. Therefore, as Hodgson (1974b) argues, to study Islamic civilisation manifested in various societies is to draw a line where we can differentiate the "little tradition"—the local Islam—from the "great tradition", the universal Islam. Local Islam is Islam interpreted in accordance with a certain locality, whereas the universal Islam is the universal phenomenon of Islam that is derived from the teaching of the Qur'an and the Sunnah. The study of Islam in a locality, therefore, is not to identify syncretised Islam or to judge the position of Islam, but to appreciate the rich and dynamic interaction of Islam with local culture. Appreciating the existence of local Islam, which is coloured by its local traditions, can provide a canvas for the picture of the great tradition of Islam. Set within this examination, this study will focus on how the people themselves speak about their religious discourse. This chapter will discern various positions of Islam in Java by examining the people's comprehension of the nature of Islam.

2. Islam in Java: Exploring Islam within Javanese Culture

Islam began to influence the vast majority of the Javanese population in the early fifteenth century with the establishment of the Islamic kingdom of Demak, which successfully conquered the Hindu Majapahit kingdom in East Java. The strong support and endorsement from *wali*, collectively known as *wali sanga*, in the Islamic kingdom of Demak directed the spread of Islam throughout Java. As can be seen from the Islamic practices in the kingdom of Demak however, Islamic symbols were used as social and political identifiers. This is because the elites and the masses did not seriously practise Islamic teachings. Moreover, the practice of Islam was greatly coloured by the older Javanese traditions. The intensive accommodations between Islam and the local cultures, as Ricklefs (1993b:10-11) noted, is illustrated by the fact that both Islamic and pre-Islamic heritage have formed distinct Javanese literatures and art forms. The elastic relationships between Islam and the older Javanese traditions have facilitated the ambiguity of religious practices of the Javanese people.

Tales of the lives of Javanese *wali*, who were to be found in a wide region of Java from the frontier of West Java to the outskirts of East Java, showed evidence of the penetration of Islam in Java. A *wali*, pictured as a pious and knowledgeable Muslim who was regarded as the founder of Islam in a certain region, was portrayed as a Sufi-like person in retreat from the mundane world to achieve spiritual wisdom. In the religious schools,¹ mosques and ritual groups, *wali* provided religious teachings

¹ Van Bruinessen (1992) hypothesises that *pesantren* "Tegal Sari" in East Java, established in 1742, was the oldest *pesantren*. In the early period, "institutions of learning" of Islam in Java had not been established like the present *pesantren*. The transmission of Islam in the early period was done through Sufi wanderers, who travelled from one place to another. The story of Kyai Ageng Gribig, for example, recounts that he travelled from Tuban to Jatinom to spread Islam. At every region he passed through, he promoted Islam by inviting a few people to discuss Islam. The group often grew into a big group centred in mosque-like institutions. The groups,

and also performed communal rituals in a form of Sufism. In most cases, as in Bayat and Jatinom Klaten, the *wali* are regarded not only as religious teachers but also as *pundhen* (first ancestors) of a local community. To commemorate the village's link to the *wali*, villagers perform a local celebration describing the existence of the *wali* (de Graaf and Pigeaud, 1974:182). Different villages have different celebrations. In Jatinom, for example, the celebration takes the form of *Riyaya Angkawiyu*, celebrating the life of Kyai Ageng Gribig. The celebration, according to de Graaf and Pigeaud (1974:271), has been performed since the sixteenth century. The *Angkawiyu* is celebrated by the distribution of *apem*—a pancake-like cake—and by chanting a *dhikr* together. The villagers in Jatinom and the people in Klaten have embraced the *Angkawiyu* as their popular tradition. The existence of such popular traditions which convey Islamic messages, Muhaimin (1995, 1998b) argues, is an indication of the penetration of Islam into Javanese religious life.

Observed from the perspective of religious polarisation, whether in the form of *santri-abangan* or traditionalist-modernist, the relationships of that formation always fluctuate. In the time of the struggle against the Dutch, Islam functioned as an identity that amalgamated various groups in Java. The Javanese war (1825-1830) had strong support because of the use of Islam as a symbol. The establishment of *Sarekat Islam* (Islamic Union) in the early 1900s, which drew members from a wide range of people from Muslim traders, urban labourers, *kyai*, and *priyayi* to farmers into a quasi-political organisation, was another successful example of the manipulation of the symbol of Islam (Benda, 1959:42). The following section will examine the role of Islam as understood by Javanese people.

which could be identified as a form of *halaqa* (learning circle), were the embryo of the establishment of permanent institutions of learning, such as *pesantren*.

3. Islam as a Cultural and Social Marker

There have been long discussions about how Islam penetrated Java so deeply and completely. Azra outlined three periods of Islamisation in Java that facilitated the penetration of Islam in Java (Azra, 1989:xiv-xvii). Firstly, the early period of Islamisation was characterised by the dominant role of Islamic mysticism (*tasawuf*). The Javanese readily accepted *tasawuf* because it was close to their early religious beliefs, which were mainly dominated by Hindu-Buddhist mystics. Furthermore, *tasawuf* was tolerant of the practices of local cultures. Although *tasawuf* was the dominant practice, it did not mean that *shari'a*, the legal formal aspect of Islam, was ignored. The punishment of Seh Siti Djenar, a *wali* who was accused by the *wali sanga* of having taught a heretical mysticism, indicated the strength of formal legal Islam (Bratakesawa, 1954). However, *tasawuf* probably remained the dominant variant of Islam at this early period of Islamisation.

At this period, Islam had been accepted primarily by people in the urban areas of the north coast of Java. Through the works of Sufi from the north coast areas, Islam then was spread into the hinterland of Java. The traditions of *wali* in Java mainly originated from the north coast. The tradition of *wali sanga* (the nine *wali*) is the most well known tradition regarding the life of *wali* in Java (Salam, 1960).² Of course there were some other *wali*, albeit not as popular as the nine *wali*. However, if the origin of these *wali* is traced, they came from the north coast. Kyai Ageng Gribig, for example, though he lived in Klaten, the hinterland of Central Java, is said to have originated from Tuban, the north coastal region of East Java.

² Some argue that the legend of the nine *wali* is a creation of the twentieth century. This is because the narratives of the *wali* go back to the Babad Tanah Jawi in the mid to late eighteenth century. The tradition of *wali* mentioned in the Babad Tanah Jawi was about the eight *wali* (Fox, 1997).

Religious schools, and holy sites which were the foci of loyalty for people in the region, were established during the lives of these *wali*. When these religious centres grew stronger and attracted numerous followers, these *wali* became the centre of social, political and religious life. These Islamic institutions advanced into supra-village institutions which subsumed the traditional leadership of the village. In Sufism, submission and total obedience to its leader (Sufi) is the paramount characteristic. Because of this characteristic, the people's veneration of the *wali* went beyond the limits of ethnicity, cultural systems and regional affiliation. Without a doubt these Islamic institutions therewith evolved into institutions of learning which cemented the establishment of a more organised Islamic institution of learning such as *pesantren* which grew rapidly in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the existence of wandering teachers, mainly Sufi with their *tariqa*, who extended their teachings across the limits of ethnicity and culture, in turn provided a basis for building an Islamic leadership and intellectual network that crossed cultural, social and regional boundaries. Azra (1994) argues that the "international colour" of the *halaqa* (study circle) in Mecca and Medina, helped Muslim students to develop an inclusive Islam.

Dhofier's study of the lives of the *kyai* and the tradition of the *pesantren* recorded that a network of *pesantren* developed in Java. This network was established through several kinds of mechanisms. Firstly, the network was established through the intellectual chain of transmission of Islamic knowledge. A *kyai*'s expertise in a part of Islamic knowledge, such as *tafsir* (Qur'anic exegesis), can be legitimate if he can provide proof of an unbroken chain from his teachers to the Prophet Muhammad. Without having this intellectual chain, formally shown in a written certificate describing the history of these links, his expertise cannot be acknowledged. To maintain this tradition, a student of Islam

has to journey to various Islamic teachers in various *pesantren*, as a *pesantren* is usually known for particular Islamic knowledge. For example, Pesantren Krapyak, in Yogyakarta is known as *pesantren tajwid* (the reciting of the Qur'an) and *qira'atul Qur'an* (the fine art of reciting the Qur'an). A student of Islam who wants to master the knowledge of *tajwid* and *qiratul Qur'an* has to study in Pesantren Krapyak whose *kyai* have established a legitimate intellectual link to this study. Therefore, the tradition of *santri musafir* (the journeying student), wandering from one *pesantren* to another, has long been established. Secondly, the network has been developed by endogamous marriage among *pesantren* communities, their *kyai*, *santri* and their families. Dhofier found that almost all Javanese *pesantren* had kin relationships with each other. Thirdly, *pesantren* preserve the traditions of honouring their *kyai* with a celebration commemorating the life of their *kyai*.

The universal nature of *pesantren*, strengthened by its traditions, facilitates the formation of religious centres by acting as the pivotal institution in regional areas. During the reign of Sultan Agung of Mataram, Bayat Klaten, for example, became an autonomous region which was exempted from paying taxes to the Mataram kingdom. Sunan Tembayat, a *wali* in the village of Paseban Bayat, was regarded as leader, who opposed the leadership of Mataram. Local traditions recorded that the Bayat people had rebelled against Mataram several times. In the end Sultan Agung showed his regard to the people of the Bayat region by visiting (*ziarah*) and renovating the graveyard of Sunan Tembayat senior. In doing so, Sultan Agung ordered his subjects to line up from Plered, a site south of Yogyakarta, to Bayat, approximately 50-60 km away, to pass bricks to renovate the graveyard. The local people interpreted that as a demonstration of Mataram's power. In addition, Sultan Agung performed *ziarah* to Sunan Tembayat and had a dream telling him to pay attention to

the Bayat people. The dream was considered to be a sign of *baraka* from Sunan Tembayat. The rebellion of Bayat ended when Sultan Agung declared Bayat to be a "*perdikan*", which had the special status of being exempt from taxes, and the descendants of Sunan Tembayat were designated as the legitimate leaders of Bayat.

However, although there were religious schools, and holy sites throughout Java, Islam seems to have been most important as a social identifier. There is no doubt that the *tasawuf* variant of Islam that has dominated Islamic practices in Java hastened accommodation in a society previously accustomed to Hindu-Buddhist mysticism. But elsewhere in the society, as Pranowo found in Tegairoso Magelang, though people professed to be Muslims, Islam was apparently more powerful as a marker of cultural identity for them than a guide to personal faith and behaviour (Pranowo, 1991). At the time of the Javanese war (1825-1830), as Azra noted earlier, Islam became the symbol of identity of the Javanese people in their struggle with colonialism. For them, to be a Muslim one merely had to believe that "there is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His messenger" (Naipaul, 1998; Pranowo, 1993:179-180).

Similarly, in Jatinom some guardians of the graveyard of Kyai Ageng Gribig confess that though they are Muslims, they do not perform Islamic duties as a good Muslim is supposed to. In their own words, they described themselves as "*tiyang engkang dereng sae Islamipun, utawi dereng ngalim*"—someone whose Islam is not yet good. As a person who has to assist people to perform *ziarah* to Kyai Ageng Gribig, which is usually done in accordance with the Islamic manner such as reciting the Qur'an and *tahlil*, the *juru kunci* have memorised some prayers in Arabic without knowing their meanings. "Although some of the *juru kunci* at Kyai Ageng Gribig's grave do not perform Islamic duties, such as five times daily prayers, we all absolutely pay respect to and honour Kyai Ageng Gribig

as a pious *wali*. We thank Kyai Ageng Gribig for his *baraka* that promotes the welfare of the village as a whole", is how a *juru kunci* described his religious position. The *juru kunci* urged visitors to obey all Islamic teachings during their *ziarah* and to avoid practices banned by Islam.

It is clear that the Javanese people embraced Islam, but that in the early period, this was propelled more by social rather than by religious motives. In discussing how Islam became accepted by the Javanese people without affiliation with its religious goals, some scholars argued that Muslim traders, either from the Arabic peninsula or from sub-continent, introduced modern economic and political behaviour to the Javanese people (Azra, 1989:xviii). The immediate implication of this is that the Javanese people perceived their closeness to the Muslim traders in terms of economic relations.

Therefore, despite their lack of commitment to the observation of Islamic teachings, Javanese people embraced Islam as a social marker. However, given the fact that Javanese people have improved their understanding of Islamic teachings, Islam, especially when colonialism came to Java, became accepted as more than a social identifier. An Islamic identity may have served to distinguish Javanese from some non-Muslim groups. Drewes, for example, through his edited work on an "early Javanese code of Muslim ethics" discovered that there was a term "*agama Jawa*" (the Javanese religion) as differentiated from "*agama Selam*"—the Islamic religion (Drewes, 1978:36-37). This leads to the following examination of the emergence of Islam as a religious identity.

4. Islam as a Religious Identity

From a religious studies perspective, the people's confession of the existence of God is a minimal indication of religious affiliation to Islam (Azra, 1989; Naipaul, 1998; Pranowo, 1993). However, from a sociological

and anthropological perspective Islam can be regarded as an influential institution or, using Geertz's term, as a cultural system which shapes actual and practical behaviour. The people's confession of belief, from this perspective, is a superficial phenomenon that cannot be used as a yardstick to measure the penetration of Islam in a society. The religious statement may serve as an indication of a "nominal Muslim" as opposed to a pious Muslim who relies on Islam as a guide to personal belief and actions. Thus religious phenomena can be studied through their contribution to economic behaviour (Weber, 1958), their contribution to communal cohesion (Durkheim, 1965), or their facilitation of social protest (Gluckman, 1954).

The various studies on the existence of Islam follow the general trend of religious studies. Geertz acknowledged that when he came to Java for the first time, he was inspired by the work of Weber on the relation between religious ideas and social and economic actions. As noted by Hefner (1986), most studies on religion in Java have focused on its social and political aspects. However, accounts based on these studies are generally meagre and superficial, and in some way trapped in a certain structural line, in which "Java" is imagined as one layer of a mono-type society. Some scholars, such as Geertz, claim that there are markers between various religious traditions in Java. Three main social structures in Java—village, market and government—formed the foundation for religious traditions which produced the three variants *abangan*, *santri* and *priyayi* (Geertz, 1976).

The tendency to classify religious practices in Java into social blocks is also obvious in Koji Miyazaki's (1988) study. Miyazaki classified religious traditions into certain religious assemblies. For example, he identified the celebration of *sekaten* performed in the Yogyakarta court as a continuation of old Javanese traditions. The name *sekaten* was taken

from the *gamelan* (Javanese orchestra), *Kyai Sekati*, which is played during the celebration. Given this evidence, Miyazaki challenged the popular understanding of the Javanese people that *sekaten* derives from or is an abbreviation of the word "*shahadatain*"—two statements of faith in Islam. However, Miyazaki's analysis is inadequate since *sekaten* is performed to celebrate the birth of the Prophet Muhammad. Having said that, no matter where the word *sekaten* comes from, the celebration has a relationship with Islam.

Historical studies of Islam in Java have also provided a meagre contribution, since there are very limited historical sources. Furthermore, some historical sources written by European observers are suspected of not having academic integrity. These observers were mainly wanderers, missionary groups, or even colonialist employers (Azra, 1994; Ricklefs, 1979). Therefore, such historical materials have to be studied with careful attention. On the other hand, vernacular historical sources, such as *Babad*, *Hikayat*, and *Lontar*, are also regarded as unreliable because these materials cannot be assessed as standard historical records. For example, they often have no date or author, and even their content may be the written record of earlier myths and legends. Despite these shortcomings of historical materials, the historical approach provides a broad picture of a certain society with its special particularities (Eickelman, 1976; Hefner, 1985).

In short, these various approaches to the study of Islam in Java have not thoroughly comprehended religious phenomena in Java. Geertz's analysis seems to neglect the historical process in which religion and cultures interact and shape social experience and social groupings. The tendency to group religious experiences into social variants neglects the rich dimension of religious, social and cultural change. Historical analysis also overemphasises the elite and literate spectrum of society. This study

proposes another way of seeing the interaction between Islam and culture in Java by observing the reflective aspect of religion as well as its interpretations. Moreover, observation of this interaction is not only disclosed through a structural perspective but from the practices of the people and their pluralistic readings of their practice (Jamhari, 1995).

Islam in Java is in the process of change (Dhofier, 1985; Nakamura, 1976; Pranowo, 1991; Pranowo, 1993). It is true that, in the beginning, Islam was articulated more in terms of a social marker than as religious guidance. In the *kraton* as well as in *wong cilik* practices, though they confess themselves to be Muslims, popular behaviour is far removed from Islamic ethics. Moreover the mixture of Islamic practices with local traditions demonstrates the lack of a complete commitment to Islam. The traditions recorded in the *Babad* of Javanese *wali* illustrate the kind of mixture of Islamic practices. In most cases, the *wali* are described as persons having spiritual power obtained from meditation. Surprisingly, little has been described about the *wali*'s observance of Islamic duties. Of course there are some stories about going on the *hajj* to Mecca, but the stories seem to weigh the spiritual power of the *wali* and his ability to go to Mecca in a mystical way.³ The mythical meaning of the *hajj* is stressed.

The increasing number of religious institutions established near the holy sites of *wali* in Java provided a wider opportunity for Javanese to study Islam. At the beginning almost all the holy sites were situated in remote areas such as mountains, hills, forests, or other isolated regions. Such remote places were taken to possess holiness and more spiritual meanings. In Java, high places were chosen to build holy sites. Some of

³ Kyai Ageng Gribig, for example, is said to have undertaken *hajj* with Sultan Agung, the incumbent king of Mataram, with their spiritual power. Without any mediation of transportation, Kyai Ageng Gribig went to Mecca with his spiritual power. This story is repeated to emphasise the power of Kyai Ageng Gribig to justify the legitimacy of his sanctity. Elsewhere in Muslim societies, such supra human stories about saints also exist (Gilsenan, 1983).

the sites were actually moved from their original locations like Bayat to pay honour and respect to the dead. With the increasing number of pilgrims coming to visit the sites, the region was transformed into a busy place. A market was established as visitors and local people engaged in business.

The most important development of the area of the holy sites was the establishment of religious institutions, whether in the form of a mosque or religious school, which attracted many people. As a *wali* was usually the *pundhen*, the first ancestor, who owned the land, the *santri* resided in the area surrounding the *wali* or *kyai*. The term *santri*, as Dirjosanjoto and Fox (1989) observed, is interpreted as deriving from "*nyantrik*", meaning living and working with a person. The religious community developed along with the increase in the number of people coming to study with the *kyai* and *wali*. It is one of the reasons, said the *juru kunci* of Jatinom, that the Islamic community in this area has become so strongly entrenched.

In addition, the intense network of *pesantren*, which also means the network of *kyai* and Muslims as a whole in Java, has strengthened the Muslim community. Moreover the number of Muslims who have physically performed *haji*, not mythically, has increased steadily. The importance of the *haji* is twofold. Firstly, it signals the growth of Islamic religious understanding. Since Mecca is regarded as the centre of Islam, the pilgrimage to Mecca reflects a deepening spiritual significance of religious understanding. Secondly, Mecca is also the centre of study for Muslims all over the world (Azra, 1994). Located in the Mosque Al-Haram, or in the *halaqah* (study group) outside the mosque, supervised by an *ulama* (Islamic scholar), students from Indonesia, including Java, studied Islam. Azra (1989, 1994) argues that this "learning network" has allowed Muslims from Indonesia to experience Islam with an

international taste. As the students come from many Muslim societies, Indonesian students have interacted and shared experiences with Muslims from other regions.

Going on the pilgrimage to Mecca therefore meant observing religious duty as well as studying religion. The returning *hajj* made a significant contribution to the increase of Javanese understanding of Islam (Azra, 1994).

Regarding the subjects taught in the *pesantren*, those solely related to Islamic knowledge have always been written using Arabic script. The learning of Arabic is a basic tool for mastering Islamic knowledge. Therefore, it is far from true that these *kyai* did not know about the meaning of the Qur'an, as Geertz (1976) assumed. Islam is a religion of Scripture whereby the activity of learning is its inherent doctrine. Even the Prophet Muhammad declared that, "the activity of learning is an obligation for Muslims". Therefore, the power of Islamic teachings on learning, which in Java can be seen through the proliferation of religious institutions, facilitated the broadening of the Muslim religious outlook, which has resulted in Islam being displayed in mundane activities.

Anthropologically, the emergence of a religious identity occurs when it is opposed to otherness (Evans-Pritchard, 1973; Hefner, 1985). The advent of colonialism, which was represented as "*kafir*", escalated and intensified the social cohesion of Javanese Muslim society. When opposed to colonialism, there is no doubt that Javanese identity overlapped substantially with an Islamic identity. Situated in "the social location" of opposing colonialism, Islam in Java increased as a religious identity. As a result, as Muhaimin (1995) aptly argued, the intimate ties between *adat* (local traditions and customs) and *ibadat* (Islamic traditions and practices) is self-evident in the "triumph of Islam" in Java.

5. The Making of Islamic Knowledge and Practice in Java

If religion is the search for a meaningful understanding of reality, it has taken an enormous diversity of forms. There are two significant implications from this statement. On the one hand, the very diversity of religious forms and understandings testifies to the problematic nature of this search. The continuous process of searching for the meaning of reality has propelled many answers. A not unreasonable conclusion to draw from this might well be that even after millennia of human endeavour in this respect, no satisfactory answers have yet been or are likely to be found. On the other hand, the various forms of religious beliefs affirm the pluralistic ways that humans take in responding to reality.

An equally reasonable conclusion might be that many societies have found answers that work well for them and with which they are satisfied. Religious beliefs, once established, can be remarkably resilient and resistant to change and modification; once established, a meaningful account of reality is not easily questioned or relinquished. To subject it to question is to pose too serious a threat to the sense that things hang together in a meaningful order.

Religious answers, however, do change, develop and are sometimes supplanted by others. Such fluidity as religion manifests is undeniably bound up with social change. Religious beliefs are also highly exportable across social and cultural boundaries, although they generally undergo considerable change and re-interpretation in the process or become combined with indigenous beliefs in new syntheses or syncretic fusions.

All this makes the task of identifying the nature of the links between religion and social patterns extremely difficult. Since the tradition of religions, even within one religion, are themselves so varied and diverse across the societies and historical periods in which they can be found, it is difficult to be definitive about an understanding of Islam, say in Java for

example. The relationship between religion and society is a complex one. The fit is not necessarily close, yet is always apparent. Religion, also, is not only shaped by social forces and factors but is itself one of these forces and factors.

Even within a particular version of a particular tradition, espoused by a particular community at a particular period in time, it is not easy to bridge the gulf between the local particularities and the more general aspects of those "great" traditions which span multiple communities and groups. Despite the fact that scholars say that this or that community is Islamic, this sometimes tells us little about what its members actually believe or do. While it is no wonder that anthropologists concentrate on small communities, anthropology cannot neglect the wider culture of Islam.

Klaten, particularly Basin, a small village that may not be well-recognised, represents a good opportunity to observe the existence of local Islam through which the wider discourse of Islam in Java is revealed. Observed from its physical actuality, Basin is not a unique village. It is an ordinary Javanese village. In religious terms, the significant role played by Islam in shaping social and political affairs of Basin, may also not be unique. The debate about the quality of Muslimness, which caused various religious orientations, does not uniquely occur in this village. However, the dynamic interaction between religion and social context in shaping and inventing traditions in Basin provides an interesting picture. Throughout the history of Basin, as long as the elders in the village could recount, there had been a mutual relationship between religion and social and political affairs. The understanding of religion was influenced by social context, whereas on the other side, the development of religion also influenced the colour of social context. Of course for Basin, Islam was and had been the religion of the villagers for a

very long time. No one was sure or knew exactly when Islam came and in what way Islam was brought to Basin.

However, in the case of Islam in Klaten, there is evidence that religion does change, and there are several Islamic traditions. Every Thursday night, women in Basin performed a public sermon (*pengajian umum*) in the mosque by reciting the Qur'an, especially chapter 36 (Yaa Siin), and there was a short lecture from a local religious teacher. As the main theme of the meeting was reading the chapter Yaa Siin, the group was called *Jama'ah Yasinan* (the group of Yasin). On Sunday mornings, villagers attended a morning religious teaching (*kuliah subuh*) in front of the main mosque. There was no separation between where women and men had to sit, and no structure as to how and where they had to listen to the lecture. They could sit wherever they liked as long as they could hear the lecture well. On other occasions, some villagers brought incense and a *slametan* meal to a paddy field to conduct *miwit* (a *slametan* before harvest). These various practices show the pluralistic understanding of religion in Basin.

When asked about their religious practices before the coming of Muhammadiyah into the village, the villagers said their practices were dominated by *slametan*. However, they did not know why they performed these practices; the only common answer from them was that they did so because their elders practiced *slametan*. In addition to *slametan*, the most common practice considered as religious was *ziarah* (visit) to the tomb of a *wali* or a pious religious teacher. For some villagers in Basin, there were two *wali* considered the most significant for them, Sunan Tembayat and Kyai Ageng Gribig. *Ziarah* to their tombs was regarded as *ibadat* (a pious act which may obtain a reward—*pahala*—from God). An informant who regularly visited the tomb of Sunan Tembayat stated that:

My *ziarah* to the tomb of Sunan Tembayat was my spiritual effort to worship God through the Sunan's intermediary (*wasilah*). In Islam, Sunan Tembayat, as a *wali*, was very close to God. This is because a *wali* is regarded as a friend of God. Because of his special position before God, Sunan Tembayat could assist the ordinary people, like me, to communicate with God.

In addition, as a pious person who, in his life, performed *ibadat* (pious acts) all the time, the *wali* received *pahala* (reward) from God. We visited his tomb to ask for part of his *baraka* (God's blessing) given by God to him. The *baraka* could add to our faith (*keyakinan*) about the existence of God. Furthermore, we could also use the *baraka* for mundane purposes such as a fertiliser for crops and an amulet for our success in business.

In the research for my Masters thesis in 1993-94, I found that visitors who came to visit the tomb of Sunan Tembayat could be divided into three groups. Firstly, were people who visited Sunan Tembayat as a part of their Sufi practice. For these people, ritual practices such as reciting the Qur'an and *tahlil* during their *ziarah* were performed in accordance with Sufi practices. These people believed that they would receive a reward from God for their Sufi practices with the help of the *wali*. Secondly, there were people who came to Sunan Tembayat to ask for *baraka* to ease mundane problems. For these people, as a pious *wali* who was close to God, Sunan Tembayat could provide help for their everyday problems. As a sign of gaining *baraka* from the *wali*, these people took water from a *genthong* (water jar) located in front of Sunan Tembayat's tomb. Thirdly, there were people who came to Sunan Tembayat to visit a *wali* who had spread Islam in the region. Their visit showed respect for the *wali*'s contribution to the spread of Islam.

In addition, in Bayat, as well as in Jatinom where the *Angkawiyu* celebration is performed, people regard the position of the *wali* in many different ways. For some people, especially local people, the *wali* is their *pundhen* (the first ancestor) who established the village. Other people, especially *tarekat* followers, regard the *wali* as a saint who can assist people to communicate with God. For other visitors, the *wali* is a representation of *wong saleh* (a pious person) who was very close to God.

Because of this special position before God, people can ask the *wali* for *baraka* which can be used for spiritual purposes, such as communicating with God, and in mundane affairs such as for amulets for business and study.

The growing number of people who follow the Muhammadiyah organisation and its religious trends produced another religious tradition in Basin. The making of local Islam can be seen in the way in which villagers responded to their local environment. Changed economic and political conditions can profoundly alter the meaning and significance of ideas, movements, and social and personal identities, without the proponents of these ideas being fully aware of the nature of the change. All religious traditions are created, however, through shared practice, and they can be profoundly and consciously modified and manipulated under the guise of a return to a more legitimate earlier practice. A classic example was provided by villagers who were members of Muhammadiyah when they were asked about their accommodation toward religious practices considered as having been influenced by non-Islamic traditions. Although it is true that they were following modernist views, the ways they dealt with the local situation were suited to the local environment. One of the leaders of Muhammadiyah in Basin said:

Of course we read the book of *Tarjih* (*kumpulan tarjih*) compiling the results of *ijtihad* (reasoning) by Muhammadiyah *ulama*. What had been determined as law by *tarjih* (determining the law of a thing or behaviour through taking the most valid argumentation), we followed. To be informed about the role of Muhammadiyah in social, economic and political affairs, we subscribed to *Suara Muhammadiyah* (a magazine published by the National Board of Muhammadiyah). In religious current affairs, before the death of Pak AR (the nickname of the former leader of Muhammadiyah Kyai AR Fakhruddin), we listened to the questions and answers on Yogyakarta Television featuring Pak AR. In addition, students returning from their universities in Yogyakarta and Surakarta also informed us about the issues of modernist argument.

However, when there was a local problem which needed a solution, when we did not find guidance in the Qur'an, the Sunnah and the *Tarjih*, we chose with our own rationalities. For example, when Basin was decided as the place for the Muhammadiyah regional congress (*Musyawarah Daerah*) in 1996, some people proposed to celebrate the success of the congress by performing *wayang*. This is

because, traditionally, we perform *wayang* to celebrate the end of the fasting month (*Idul Fitri*). Muhammadiyah accepted the proposal and performed *wayangan* at the close of the congress.

There is no doubt that the understanding of Islam in a certain locality is influenced by local context. Therefore, it is true when Geertz (1976) argued that Islam came to Java not in a cultural vacuum, but where there was already a high culture. This culture, consisting of a combination of animism and mystical Hindu-Buddhism, guided the inhabitants of the island in their personal, spiritual, social and political lives. So deep was the penetration of this high culture in the Javanese tradition that Islam could not replace it. Even though it is apparent in the syncretic form of Islam in Java, Islam entered into Javanese society only on the surface. At the level of deep thought, Javanese still retained belief in their old faith.

However, Ricklefs, although he voiced the same ideas that Islam in Java did not deeply influence Javanese religious life, found different support for this case. According to Ricklefs (1998), the use of Islam by the *kraton*—the Javanese court—was politically motivated. The triumph of Raden Patah over Majapahit by using Islam as the main concept for unity, and the use of the three sacred books by the late Ratu Pakubuwana to try and prevent the decline of the reign of the young ruler Pakubuwana III, justified Islam's political essence. As Javanese believe that the "seen world" was the emanation of the "unseen world", the decline of the political reign of Pakubuwana III was the symbol of the failure of Islam.

Dhofier and Simuh criticised the tendency to study Islam from the *kraton*, thus ignoring the religious realities growing outside (Azra, 1992; Dhofier, 1985; Simuh, 1995; Woodward, 1996a). Both Simuh and Dhofier maintained that the people outside the *kraton*—*wong cilik*—were the pioneers of the Islamic traditions in Java. Led by the *kyai*, *wong cilik* produced their own traditions opposed to the tradition of the *kraton*. Because of the growing power of the tradition of *wong cilik*, which

attracted many loyal supporters who then withdrew their allegiance from the *kraton*, the court elites accommodated this *wong cilik* tradition. It is true that the court's accommodation of Islam facilitated its spread (Woodward, 1989). However, the real tradition of Islam still remained in the possession of *wong cilik*, centred in *pesantren*.

The development of Islamic knowledge in Java has occurred through a long, peaceful and multiple process of interaction between Islam and the older Javanese traditions. On the one hand, the process involved the adoption of local traditions into Islamic practices, as long as they did not violate Islamic principles. On the other hand, there has been a constant process of "Islamisation" of those local traditions into the domain of Islamic morals. The general pattern in this process is the use of popular traditions coloured by religious messages.

The adoption of the older Javanese traditions into Islamic practices has several meanings. The absorption of local traditions aimed to show the open nature of Islam, which provides room for acculturation. In Madjid's (1992) words, the pluralistic nature of Islam, which can be seen in the acceptance of local traditions in the Islamic practices, facilitates the peaceful acceptance of Islam. Moreover, incorporating local traditions suggests that Islam is a continuation of these traditions. The celebration of the *Angkawiyu*, for example, was developed to maintain the Islamic teachings of Kyai Ageng Gribig. The *Angkawiyu* offers a picture of the acculturation of Islam with local culture. On the one hand, the use of *apem*, the cake that has become the core of the celebration, is an adoption from local culture. On the other hand, the *dhikr* chanted during the celebration is derived from Sufi teaching.

The development of Islamic practices in Java has gone through an extensive process that continues until now. The fabrication of Islamic knowledge is accomplished through the use of older Javanese traditions

to explain the Islamic concepts. In the manuscript *Babad Tanah Jawi*, the local genealogy of the genesis of the world is used to justify the divine incarnation of the ruler. The Javanese kings, especially those of Majapahit in East Java and Mataram in Central Java, were said to be descendants of *Sang Hyang* who had a genealogical link to *Sang Hyang Athama* (the Prophet Adam) through *Sang Hyang Nur Cahya*, descendant of *Sang Hyang Sita*—the Prophet Syits (Fox, 1997). Moreover, the inclination of Javanese traditions to acknowledge the existence of spirits, especially in the course of *slametan*, has been translated into the domain of Islamic principles. The characters of diverse malicious spirits are transformed into Islamic notions of *satan* or evil *jinn*, whereas the attributes of benevolent spirits are embodied in heavenly *malaikat*—angelic spirits (Muhaimin, 1998b).

The more apparent and important process of introducing Islam to Java involved the role of mysticism. Not only was mysticism the aspect most responsible for spreading Islam in Java, it is also the most widely discussed. Although the concept of *manunggaling kawula gusti* (the union of lord and servant), the core concept of Javanese mystical teachings, has not been adopted, similarities can be found in the doctrine of the union of God and humans in Islamic Sufism.

When compared to Islamic practices in other Muslim societies, such as North Africa, Persia or the Middle East, Islam in Java has some similarities as well as differences. This is not surprising given that Islamic practices are rooted in the teaching of the Qur'an, and millions of recorded traditions of the Prophet Muhammad are added to the extensive collections of *ulama* (Islamic scholars) who are experts in areas ranging from Islamic legal opinions to Islamic philosophy. When portions of these religious texts and traditions reached the populace living in various social and cultural environments, it is certain that interaction and

accommodation occurred. The instant outcome of this process is that liturgical texts are interpreted and learned through the local culture. It is, therefore, problematic to separate the practice of Islam in a locality into the dichotomy of pure or not-pure Islam.

6. Local Islam

To understand the Islam which has developed in a certain locality, we may distinguish two levels on which to base the longstanding dialogue among Muslims: that of religion and that of local culture. The discussion of local Islam will automatically refer to the universal norms of Islam and local manifestation of Islam. Discussing the religious traditions is to talk about the liturgical and textual sources, whereas local cultures means discussing any given cultural setting where a religion has come to the society in question. In regard to religious tradition, Islamic religious tradition, in its broadest sense, for all its diversity, has retained a certain integrity. This religious unity is the core feature of the diverse manifestations of local Islam.

In addition, the discussion of local Islam relates to the debate on religious change and cultural change. The presence of Islamic practices in a certain locality which may differ from Islamic practices in other Muslim societies raises a question about the cultural continuity of Islam. Moreover, an account of local Islam leads to a wider examination of what sort of relations can exist between religion and local traditions.

Islamic religious unity, studied in diverse Muslim societies, is most perceptible at the level of religious doctrine. At the very least, all Muslims believe in the ultimate source of the Qur'an and the Sunnah. Islamic practices are built around these two fundamental sources. The Qur'an is the word of God (*kalam Allah*), which was verbally revealed to the Prophet Muhammad over the course of 23 years. During the lifetime of the

Prophet Muhammad, the Qur'an was memorised by Muslims and recited in prayers. It was also written down on materials which were available, such as leaves, bones and parchments. The entire corpus of these scattered writings was collected together by the first caliph, Abu Bakar, and this process was continued by Utsman, the third caliph. The Qur'an is the ultimate divine authority for Muslim belief and life.

The Sunnah, on the other hand, is the tradition of Muhammad that codifies his living embodiment. During his life, Muhammad was the living source whom Muslims consulted for religious and social affairs in the absence of guidance from the Qur'an. After his death, examples of vows from his life were compiled into texts known as Hadith. The Hadith are a written record of Muhammad's sayings and actions, and his approval or disapproval of his companions' acts.

All Muslims believe that the Qur'an is the ultimate and the last revelation sent to humans. As social conditions changed, and revelations ended after the death of the Prophet Muhammad as the last Prophet, there was a need to interpret the Qur'an and the Sunnah. This is because the content of the Qur'an and the Sunnah is structured on general assumptions that are subject to different possible interpretations and analyses. Two principal methods are used to understand the message (*ijtihad*) of the Qur'an and the Sunnah; that is, *qiyas* (analogy) and *ijma'* (consensus). Through *ijtihad* the knowledge of Islam in philosophy and theology (*ilmu kalam*), Sufism (*tasawuf*), and jurisprudence (*shari'a* and *fiqh*) is codified.

As indicated by the various opinions of Muslims in dealing with the construction of Islamic knowledge, various Islamic practices result from these diverse opinions. Different social, cultural and political conditions have contributed to the creation of these diverse opinions. As a result, there are diverse Islamic practices which colour local cultures.

In Java, the Qur'an and the Sunnah are also believed to be the ultimate sources that guide all human behaviour. Because of its importance, the Qur'an is studied in various ways, from learning how to read it in the village mosques to studying how to interpret (*tafsir*) its meaning in specialist *pesantren*. However, the Qur'an in Java is regarded as more than that. It is considered as a special book that can be used for several purposes. Javanese people use the Qur'an as a magical book which can cure sickness, provide prosperity, and give power.

When a person is dying and finds it difficult, people recite the Qur'an, especially the *sura Yaasin* (36) seven times. The Qur'an is also used as a cure for sick people. When evil spirits make trouble for a person or a village, the Qur'an is utilised to rid them of these spirits. To obtain spiritual power that intrudes into the human body, the Qur'an is memorised. Some *santri* in Java drink a glass of water which has been mixed with verses of the Qur'an to ease their Qur'anic study. In short, the Qur'an is the word of God that can provide various benefits for Muslims.

As the Qur'an has such a high position, it should be honoured above everything else. It should be placed in a clean and high place. No one can touch the Qur'an without taking ablution first. It is sacred. When people find a piece of the Qur'an torn, they must take it and burn it to avoid the Qur'an being thrown into garbage bins. An informant defended this practice by saying:

As Muslims, we believe in the divinity of the Qur'an, because the Qur'an is the ultimate source of Islam. We also believe that the Qur'an is the word of God (*Kalam Allah*) which was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad. The current Qur'an is the same as the Qur'an revealed to Muhammad from heaven. Allah revealed the Qur'an to the Prophet Muhammad, its words, structure and writings.

In addition, the Qur'an, we believe, is the *mukjizat* (an extraordinary weapon) given to the Prophet Muhammad. *Mukjizat* means a super special thing given to the Prophets of Allah in order to answer the challenges of people who did not believe the Prophets' teachings. If the *mukjizat* of other Prophets left with the death of the Prophet, the *mukjizat* of Muhammad, the Qur'an, remains up until now. Thus, people who utilise the Qur'an for spiritual purposes attempt to use the *mukjizat* of the Qur'an.

Javanese people strongly hold the notion of showing respect and honour to sacred (*karamah*) things, such as a *keris* (dagger), the palace, *wali* and *kyai*. In fact, a pious person, a *wali* or *kyai*, is loved by God. Therefore the pious person has blessing (*baraka*). If people come to visit the *wali*, they do so to obtain blessing from the *wali*. The Qur'an is similar to the *wali*, as it is a revelation from God, it contains *baraka*. Reading or memorising the Qur'an is the same as visiting the tomb of a *wali* to obtain *baraka*. The Qur'an's *baraka* can be manifested in spiritual power, medicine, and other spiritual means.

The use of the Qur'an as a means of spiritual power resembles the use of daggers or other objects that are regarded as sacred in Java. However, the understanding of the Qur'an as the ultimate source for Islamic teachings is a universal understanding of all Muslims. The belief in the magical power of the Qur'an, though we may find similarities in other Muslim societies, is inspired by the local culture (Schimmel, 1994).

The interpretation of local culture should not be understood as separating or differentiating between universal and local cultures. Marshall Hodgson notes the difficulty in differentiating between the two, although it may be possible. Hodgson said that universal Islam can be seen in the religious realm, in the Islamic doctrines that relate humans and God. All Muslims, whatever the cultural and social context, believe in the Qur'an and the Prophet. However, when it comes to the interpretation of social relations, this may differ from one place to another.

Although Hodgson's claim can be supported, it does not explain the whole process of the presence of Islam in a certain locality. Like other monotheistic religions, Islam is universalist, meaning it obliges its adherents to embrace the religion thoroughly. Islam is a universal religion, and in the course of its dissemination it has been professed by many people with various cultural backgrounds. There is no separation between the religious realm and secular realm. All aspects of life are part of the religious realm. Therefore, the *kyai* in Java do not differentiate between life in the fields and in the mosque (Dhofier, 1985; Pranowo, 1993).

In his acclaimed work on the traditions of *pesantren* in Java, Dhofier (1985) rejected studies of Islam in Java which used a dichotomous approach, such as modernist and traditionalist, and *santri* and *abangan*. The use of such an approach, Dhofier argued, ignores dynamic change and the complexity of Islam in Java. The extensive and lengthy process of Islamisation in Java has produced various layers of Islam. Dhofier proposed to see the development of Islam in Java in terms of continuity and change, giving the opportunity for social realities to change and adapt to a social context. For example, the traditions of *pesantren* have adjusted over time to the social conditions surrounding them.

Nakamura and Pranowo raised the same issues as Dhofier. Nakamura argued that Kotagede, a town which is close to the *kraton*—the central Javanese symbol—should be a miniature of the *priyayi* and *abangan* versions of Geertz's representation of Java. However, Nakamura (1976) found most, if not all, the villagers in that village had become *santri*. The Muslims in Kotagede affiliated themselves to Muhammadiyah, a modernist movement which strongly opposed syncretic practices. Yet Kotagede is the site of the tomb of Senapati, a major *ziarah* site which attracts Javanese from all over Java. Pranowo also found that in the Magelang area, a village previously known to be inhabited by ex-members of the Communist Party (PKI) who had fled from the 1965 massacre, some decades later had become an Islamic village with a *pesantren* as its centre. According to Pranowo the local villagers described their previous religious condition as "*adoh saking agami*" (far from observing religious teachings), whereas the current situation was considered as "*agamanipun sampun sae*" (their religion is already good).

When describing their behaviour during the time of "*adoh saking agami*", the villagers referred to behaviour that is banned by Islamic teachings such as gambling, drinking alcohol, and prostitution.

Furthermore, when they described their situation as "*agamanipun sampun sae*", they referred to a situation in which people diligently went to the mosque, studied religion, attended religious sermons and became involved in *pesantren* activities. This situation provides a clear indication that the development of Islam involves a process of change.

There has clearly been mutual accommodation in the interaction between Islam and the older Javanese traditions which may have been characterised by Hindu-Buddhist traditions. There is no doubt that Islam in Java has been influenced by older Javanese traditions. On the other hand, Islam has also influenced Javanese traditions. This mutual interaction has caused distinct Islamic practices in Java. One informant described the interaction as follows:

Although I am a Muslim, I am a Javanese. This means that my attachment to Islam does not displace my Javanese identity. I am a fanatical supporter of *wayang* (shadow puppets), because I like the philosophy behind each *wayang*'s character. However, when I watch a *wayang* performance, then I neglect my prayer (*salat*). It is not because of Javanese identity that I automatically reject Islam. In fact the relationship between Islam and Javanese culture is symbolised in the way Javanese perform prayers (*salat*). Javanese people perform *salat* in sarongs, or celebrate the *Idul Fitri* (the end of the fasting month) by *sungkeman* (giving respect to the elders and respected people). *Salat* is a Muslim obligation, but sarong is Javanese. Celebrating *Idul Fitri* is an Islamic practice, *sungkeman* is a Javanese way of establishing relationships. Because Javanese pray in a sarong, they are regarded as not truly Muslims, or that Islam has been Javanised.

Similarly, celebrating *Idul Fitri* with *sungkeman* does not mean that Islam has been corrupted. It is true that celebrating *Idul Fitri* with *sungkeman* is a Javanese way of respecting *Idul Fitri*. However, this does not mean that the Javanese are conducting a non-Islamic celebration. Javanese identity and Muslim identity is separated in a group. In other words, if a Javanese becomes a Muslim, it does not mean that he/she has abandoned his/her Javanese traditions.

This is the real picture of that interrelation between religion and the older Javanese traditions. In the complex of Kyai Ageng Gribig's tomb there is a mosque, a graveyard, a cave, and a meditation mosque. There are some people who come to visit Kyai Ageng Gribig as a *wali*, therefore they go to the mosque. There are also some people who come to visit Kyai Ageng Gribig as *pundhen*, therefore they come to the place where Kyai Ageng Gribig used to meditate. The cave of Kyai Ageng Gribig is visited by people who want to obtain spiritual power as Kyai Ageng Gribig was a "*wong pinter*" (a spiritually powerful person). Therefore, there are various activities during the *Angkawiyu* celebration: there are people who pray in the mosque, meditate at the cave, find spiritual power at the *suran* mosque, and obtain *apem* from the *Angkawiyu*. These people perform their own ways of *ziarah* that are believed to be the perfect method. There are three important events during the celebration of the *Angkawiyu*. Firstly, there is the

ziarah, meaning giving honour to the *wali* as well as obtaining *baraka* from him. The *ziarah* is done through reciting *dhikr* and *tahlil* in front of his tomb. Some other people perform *ziarah* by *napak tilas* (following the important places used by Kyai Ageng Gribig during his life). Secondly, there is the *kaulan*, meaning commemorating the life of Kyai Ageng Gribig. The *kaulan* is performed by conducting a public sermon (*pengajian umum*) and reciting a public *tahlil* in front of the mosque. The last, the distribution of *apem*, means a struggle to obtain *apem* distributed from a bamboo tower in front of Kyai Ageng Gribig's graveyard. If these three events are separated, each seems to signify a certain practice. However, people will regard these separated activities as the *Angkawiyu*. The celebration of *Angkawiyu* has to be performed by doing those three together. The complete *Angkawiyu* is when those three events are done together. Then, it is up to the intention (*niyat*) of visitors to give meaning to the *Angkawiyu*.

Here again, *niyat* (intention) determines the meaning of religious activities. Bowen (1993) found that *niyat* demarcated the meaning of certain activities. In arguing the importance of *niyat* in certain religious activities, traditionalist Islam has maintained that an activity is determined by its meaning for the actor. Therefore the *niyat* in every *ibadat* is essential. Similarly, because intention determines the result and meaning of an activity, traditionalist Islam does not bother with the direction of prayer (*kiblat*). For modernist Islam, if the *kiblat* of prayer is to Mecca, the correct direction can be measured with a compass. For traditionalist Islam, however, the direction is not the important factor, but the *niyat* is important (Bowen, 1993). In the case of *Angkawiyu* the people's perception of the practice is the important factor. The significance of understanding *niyat* in Islamic practices is to perceive the people's motives for their actions.

Studying Islam in a certain locality should examine the result of the interaction between religion as a social system which shapes the world view and order of its adherents, and as a cultural system, a system of symbols given in a social location. The context may result in conflict or in peaceful interaction. In Morocco, for example, Eickelman (1977) argued that maraboutism is a local manifestation of Islam that has interacted with

Moroccan local culture. The life of Marabouts, a Sufi-like religious elite, dominated the discourse on Moroccan religious life.

Islam in Java is mainly represented in its mystical aspect. The existence of various *wali* in Java provides obvious evidence of the domination of the mystical form of Islam. However, this form is not the only manifestation of Islam in Java. The emergence of what is called Javanised Islam—Islamic practices which attempt to accommodate both Islamic teachings and local Javanese cultures—enrich the phenomena of Islam. The penetration of Islamic modernists into Java, has also coloured religious practices.

It seems that an analysis of local Islam outlines the importance of examining the relation between interdependent and independent variability. The most obvious conclusion is not the high degree to which religious developments are “determined” by their sociological contexts, on the level of both leadership and followers, but the degree of flexibility of the social structure so that when a religious doctrine appears, there is a highly significant range of possibilities which allow new forms of social behaviour to become institutionalised.

7. Interpreting Islam

Within Islamic perception, the Qur'an in its present form is an unaltered message since its revelation to the Prophet Muhammad. Believed to be the messenger of God, the Prophet Muhammad's verbal utterances and deeds are regarded as a secondary source of Islam. Resting on the Qur'an and the Sunnah, Islam interprets itself not only as a monotheistic religion, but also as a legislative code perceived within a theocentric context.

Islam is not an ecclesiastical religion, but an organic religious system, meaning it offers regulations for all spheres of life as an organic

whole. Islamic teachings embrace both the sphere of public worship (*ibadat*) and that of business dealings (*mu'amalat*). Its essence is the regulation of what is permitted, *halal*, and what is forbidden, *haram*. The Islamic legal system evolved between the seventh and ninth centuries. In addition to the Qur'an and the Sunnah as primary sources, the legal technique of *qiyas* (analogy deduction) and *ijma'* (consensus of *ulama*) also evolved as secondary possibilities for defining laws.

In line with the argument that Islamic teachings have evolved through the interpretations of *faqih* (Islamic legal expert) and *ulama* (Islamic scholars), there is no doubt that Islam in Java has developed in a similar way. Although there has been a strong intellectual link with Islam in Mecca and Medina, two Islamic centres which inspired much of the religious reformation in Java, there has been an intensive process of interpreting Islam through local knowledge. For example, the Javanese understanding of *wali* refers to the notion of a Sufi who is a person close to God. The Sufi's constant worship of God through praying, fasting and *dhikr* provides him a special place before God that enables him to grant *baraka* derived from God. In addition to this notion of *wali*, however, the Javanese also regard *wali* as their *pundhen*, the first ancestor of their region. The celebration performed to honour the *wali* is performed in two ways according to these meanings. In Jatinom, the celebration of *kaulan* during the celebration of *Angkawiyu* is dedicated to the *wali* as a Sufi, whereas the distribution of *apem* is considered to be the local remembrance for the Kyai Ageng Gribig as the *pundhen*.

In dealing with the transmission of *baraka*, Javanese have also referred to their local knowledge. It has been argued by many, for example Gilsenan, Evans-Pritchard, Eickelman, and Gellner, that the *wali* is, in Sufi doctrine, regarded as an intermediary to God. This means that the position of a Sufi is like a postman who delivers a letter to various

addresses. Similarly, since a Sufi is a friend of God, he enables a person to communicate with God. However, for Javanese the transmission of *baraka* is understood in a different way. The Javanese believe that as a pious person who performs *ibadat* (good deeds) during his life, the *wali* obtained *baraka* from God. He is like a full glass of water to which is added more water. Water will therefore spill over the glass. The *baraka* from *wali* is believed to be like the water that spills over the glass.

The flexibility of interpreting Islam through local knowledge has facilitated the spread of Islam in Java. The deep influence of Islam on the *adat* traditions, as Muhaimin argued, is an indication of the acceptance of Islam by Javanese people. Their understanding of the importance of *niyat* in every activity suggests the seriousness of the Javanese. However, the spread of Islam does not mean that all Javanese have the same religious attachment to Islam. In other words, there are different degrees of knowledge about Islam among the Javanese. In popular parlance there are people who "*durung ngalim*" (do not yet know about the whole Islam) and people who are "*ngalim*" (know about the teachings of Islam and observe them).

The different backgrounds and degrees of understanding of Islam have produced various voices of Islam, ranging from its puritanical forms to its reformist model. These various understandings of Islam produce rich and colourful Islamic practices. It is true that these various practices may suggest the marking of variants as each group has some distinct Islamic practice. However, when their perceptions are examined, through popular articulation that can be recognised from their motivations, these various understandings of Islam reflect the people's attachment to Islam. Some people are less attached and others have more attachment toward Islam.

In the case of Islam in Basin, the local practice, manifested in the diverse local practices, demonstrates the intensive effort of villagers to formulate the religious correctness of the quality of Muslim-ness. In dealing with this argument, people in Basin described their views on the basis of the meaning of being Muslim. For some people, to be a Muslim, one has to follow the requirements as a Muslim, meaning that one has to observe Islamic duties. Islam, with all its teachings, including its credo, religious laws and ethics, is a system of beliefs that have to be followed once one declares oneself a Muslim. Islam has set up guidance for its adherents for communicating with God and forming relationships with other human beings. Pak Tugi, the leader of the Muhammadiyah youth organisation in Basin described his understanding of Islam as follows:

It is said in the Qur'an that, "embrace Islam completely". This verse of the Qur'an urges Muslims to embrace Islam in its whole system, following all its teachings. Our quality of Muslim-ness (*keislaman*) is determined in the way in which we practice our religion. If we realised that previously we practised some religious practices that were not taken from the Islamic teaching, we should abandon the practice. The verse also implies that declaring oneself as Muslim by reciting *syahadat* is not enough. Observing Islamic duties, as prescribed in the Qur'an and the Sunnah, have to follow the statement of faith.

The quality of Muslim-ness of a person is measured by how far one performs Islamic religious practices. Without proving it with serious practices, the quality of one's Muslim-ness is questioned. For these people, the physical evidence of religiosity, such as performing prayers and fasting, is a crucial measure of that quality. "We can only judge a person's quality by his/her activities, we do not know what is in the heart of the person", a supporter of this idea said, providing an argument for the importance of physical appearance in religious practice. The argument was also used when, a few years ago, people in Basin argued over the correct direction for the prayers (*kiblat*). It is prescribed clearly in the Qur'an that the *kiblat* for Muslim is the *Ka'bah* in Mecca, whose direction

can be easily determined by using a compass. Therefore, the direction of the *kiblat* in the mosque has to be fixed in the right direction.

However, some villagers did not agree. The use of the *Ka'bah* as the direction for prayers was, according to these villagers, an imaginary symbol of the unity of Islam. The *Ka'bah* is the place of worship established by the Prophet Abraham, the founder of traditions, the embryo of the monotheist faith. Therefore, the physically correct direction of *kiblat* is not the important factor. The most significant factor is *niyat*—Muslims should direct the prayer to the spiritual *Ka'bah*, not the physical one.

This argument came from understanding of religion. For them, Islam is the religion of submission to the one God. The original meaning of Islam, derived from *salama*, is peace and submission, which tells the true purpose of embracing Islam, that is, submitting our life to the existence of God. The essence of Islam is communication with God. Therefore, confessing *syahadat* is an indication that a person can be considered as a Muslim, because he has declared the existence of the oneness of God. Pak Junaedi, a graduate of a *pesantren*, stated:

Once one willingly declared *syahadat* he/she had become a Muslim. His/her presence in the community of Muslim (*ummat Islam*) has to be acknowledged. Of course we must remind him/her to further learn about Islam. However, we must also recognise that when Islam has entered into one's heart and mind, its *niyat* will colour all activities. Therefore, if one declares his/her *niyat* that all activities are dedicated toward God, as long as the practice does not violate the basic tenets of Islam, actually one has performed Islamic duties.

For these people, the essence of Islam lies in the spiritual attainment of communicating with God. Some guidance in prayers, fasting and *haji* are regarded as an introduction or an example of worshipping God. Therefore, some people, such as Sufis, perform prayers and fasting beyond the prayers done by ordinary people, as they feel that they need to perform more prayers.

For some other people, however, echoing the same argument of the importance of individual intention, the relationship between man and God is a personal matter. This means that the way in which a person communicates with God is an individual choice. Therefore, for these people, the quality of religiosity is a personal matter which varies from person to person. They regard themselves as Muslims, for they celebrate the end of fasting *Ramadhan*; they argue that their Muslim-ness is not measured by their religious practices and personal *niyat*, but through how far an individual can obtain the highest spiritual experience of meeting with God.

These various understandings of the measurement of religiosity lead to the emergence of diverse religious practices which colour the quest for the correct place of Islam in Javanese society. The presence of Islam in Java was not brought about by a military invasion, but came through the work of traders and Sufi teachers. As a result of this slow and peaceful introduction, there appears to be a tolerant attitude toward the involvement of old traditions in Islamic practice. The pluralistic nature of Islam gives vernacular knowledge freedom to understand Islam as long as it does not violate the basic tenets of Islam. This accelerates the use of local knowledge to interpret Islam. The Javanese understanding of Islam with reference to their own culture should be understood as their contribution to finding a perfect formula to implement "a true Islam" in a Javanese context.

Chapter III

Rhetorical Discourse on Islamic Religious Orientation

*Hi, true members of 'Aisyiyah¹
Be aware of your sacred duties
To develop the life of women
To become the chief pillar of the state
Under the soles of your feet is paradise
In your hands is the faith of the nation.*

*The banner of the sun is waving
Shines the sky of the mother land
That is the banner of our struggle
To spread religion
Islam is a way of life
God's revelation guides us to the ultimate happiness.*

*Let's perform good deeds and work
To develop the nation
To create a true Islamic society
Blessed with prosperity.²*

1. Introduction

When one observes Islam in Java one finds a variety of Islamic practices and rituals. And if one attempts to uncover the discourse underlying these rituals and practices, one encounters a rich and polyphonic discourse. Then when one attempts to compare such Islamic

¹ This anthem of 'Aisyiyah, the Muhammadiyah women's organisation, is always sung at the beginning of the meeting. 'Aisyiyah in Basin is widely supported by Muslim women. It has several social and educational activities, ranging from establishing an orphanage house to building a kindergarten. The singing of the anthem of 'Aisyiyah to begin the meeting, they said, is to remind them about their sacred duties as women.

² *Wahai warga 'Aisyiyah sejati. Sadarlah akan kewajiban suci. Membina harkat kaum wanita. Menjadi tiang utama negara. Di telapak kakimu terbentang surga. Di tanganmu nasib bangsa. Berkabarlah panji matahari. Menghias langit ibu pertiwi. Itulah lambang perjuangan kita. Dalam menyebar luaskan*

practices and rituals to those in other Muslim societies, one may find similarities to some but not others. There are some similar practices, but there are also some different religious activities. The similarities between Islamic practices and rituals in Java and other Muslim societies emanate from the same roots, that is the Holy Qur'an and the Sunnah (the Prophet Muhammad's sayings, decisions and attitudes). From these two roots, all of Islam's basic practices and rituals are constructed. However, there is no doubt that Islam in Java, as in other societies, has been influenced by local traditions. Thus, Islamic practices in any locality have their local characteristics. This involvement of local traditions in shaping Islamic practices can be found in all Muslim societies.

The various studies on local Islam in Java can be grouped according to three major views. First there is the view that describes Islam as syncretised with local cultures resulting in the development of variants which mark certain differences in practising Islam. This view was pioneered by Geertz with his famous and influential view on Islam in Java which focuses on the Javanese division into *abangan*, *santri* and *priyayi*. These variants, Geertz (1976:5) argued, were formed because of the interaction and accommodation between Javanese local traditions and Islam. The *abangan* group, associated with peasants, represents a religious tradition that focuses on the feast called *slametan* and the involvement of spirits in its rituals. The *santri* group is represented by devout Muslims who form the trading classes. Finally, the *priyayi* group refers to a ruling class that was once the dominant elite in Java.

Second, there is the view which argues that Islam in Java has triumphed. Marshall Hodgson launched this view. He criticised Geertz for not acknowledging that Islam has become essential to the ideological

agama. Islam pedoman hidup. Wahyu ilahi dasar kebahagiaan sejati. Mari beramal dan berdarmabakti. Membangun negara. Mencipta masyarakat Islam sejati. Penuh karunia.

identity of the Javanese people. Many Islamic ideas, such as the concept of *slamet*, *lahir* and *bathin*, have been adopted into Javanese discourse. This view has been elaborated by Woodward (1989) and Muhaimin (1995). While Mark Woodward studied Islam in the Yogyakarta palace in Central Java, Muhaimin studied Islam in Cirebon including the palace. The study of Islam within the palace and among the ordinary people, they argue, provides a better picture of the nature of Islam in Java than just village studies. Woodward argues that palace ritual practices and the understanding of Islam serves as a model for the Javanese. Woodward demonstrates that symbols used in the palace of Yogyakarta are interpreted in accord with the teaching of Islam. Since Islam has become the centre of ritual interpretations in the palace, Woodward maintains that "Islam in Java has triumphed".³

Muhaimin argued that the Islamic triumph in Javanese society is because Islam has been adopted by Javanese people as part of their tradition (*adat*). In his excellent ethnography of Cirebon he demonstrates that Islamic practices and local practices have been blended into Cirebonese traditions, which are preserved through the palaces of Cirebon. The ritual ceremonies celebrated by Cirebonese which are markedly Islamic, are now accepted as *adat*.

Third is the view that maintains that Islam in Java is in continuous change. Nakamura, Dhofier and Pranowo are among the anthropologists who support the argument of continuity and change in Islamic understanding. Based on his observation of Islam in Kotagede, Nakamura witnessed the process of change from, using Geertz's variants, *abangan* to *santri* and from *priyayi* to *santri*. He found a constantly moving form in the

³ Boland argues that the triumph of Islam indicated that the influence of Hindu-Buddhism in Java was not so strong. The ease of Islamic penetration into Java signifies the weakness of Hindu and Buddhist influences on the Javanese people.

way in which people understand and practise Islam. Therefore, he disagreed with Geertz who saw the variants as static. According to Nakamura, the religious consciousness of Islam will always change its patterns as he witnessed in Kotagede. Pranowo, in his criticism of Geertz, found that people ignorant of Islam who were, in Geertz's argument, regarded as *abangan*, had become *santri*. In other words, the classification of *abangan*, *santri* and *priyayi* is a misleading typology as these categories may change. In Magelang, where Pranowo did his research, there is a *pesantren* which focuses on the rehabilitation of ex-communists. The existence of such a *pesantren* demonstrates the process of change in religious orientation.

However, these three approaches have their weaknesses. The syncretic approach seems to ignore the dynamism of Islamisation in Java and the possibility of ongoing change in religious orientation. Furthermore, the account of the Islamic triumph in Java overlooks the influence of local traditions in the making of religious rituals and practices in Java. Moreover, it seems that the triumph approach, especially from Woodward, has set an indistinct standard for defining a thing as Islamic. In Java, he argues, when a religious practice or symbol is interpreted in accordance with Islamic teachings, as when Javanese people described the spiritual element of the Yogyakarta *kraton* in line with Islamic teaching, then it is Islamic (Woodward, 1989). The continuous change approach also lacks explanation of the direction in which the religious change in Java is heading.

To continue the study of Islam in Java, I propose a study of popular Islam in Southern Central Java. This study observes the nature of Islam and its place within a wider Islamic discourse. It considers issues such as the degree of Javanese attachment to Islam and the various religious orientations of Islam, which can be used to complement previous studies

of Islam in Java. The study focuses on Islamic practices in a village and considers the degree of attachment to Islam in order to discern people's religious orientation and changes to this orientation. The endeavour will also look at the discourse—the reasoning, history, interpretation and attitude—underlying people's choice of a certain religious orientation. Furthermore, taking account of the changes in religious orientation in some villages in Java, the study considers the direction in which the religious change can lead. In this regard, this chapter will discuss various possible religious orientations, including the origin and factors involved in choosing a certain religious orientation. The last part of the chapter describes social practices and their religious discourse.

2. The Origin of Divergent Religious Orientations in Java

All religion, when it first emerges, has only a main stream to its teachings. This is also true for Islam. The development of different religious orientations in Islam emerged after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. When the Prophet Muhammad was still living, people could ask him directly about religious matters. Whenever a new religious problem arose, the Prophet could solve it with the help of these revelations. However, when the Prophet Muhammad died, there was no single religious figure who could be asked to solve religious problems. The Muslims then asked the *shahabah* (the Prophet's close friends) who might have different opinions.

In Islam it is believed that no more revelations came from God after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. In other words, the Prophet Muhammad was the last messenger sent by God to human beings. Therefore, the Qur'an and the Sunnah, two sources recording God's revelations through the Prophet Muhammad, have become the most fundamental roots in Islam. These two sources provide guidance for

Muslims for their life in this world and for the day of judgment. Therefore, to determine the status of anything in Islamic law, Muslims refer to the Qur'an and the Sunnah.

However, the Qur'an and the Sunnah do not always provide detailed and ready guidance; they provide the guidance given in a general way that needs interpretation and clarification. Furthermore, the guidance in the Qur'an and in the Sunnah is sometimes given in obscure expressions which need further elaboration. Therefore, there is a need for qualified people, *ulama* (Muslim scholars), to interpret and clarify these texts based on their expertise in Islamic knowledge, such as the *ulama* of *ahlu tafsir* (experts on Qur'anic exegesis), *ahlu hadits* (experts on Sunnah exegesis), *ahlu fiqh* (experts on the formation of Islamic jurisdiction) and *ahlu sufi* (experts on Islamic Sufism). In their interpretations, despite the limits of their expertise, the *ulama* are also often bounded by their locality—socially, geographically and politically. It is understandable, therefore, if one *ulama* disagrees with another in interpreting the Qur'an and the Sunnah. These disagreements have brought about the emergence of various religious orientations in Islam, and their disagreements sometimes worsen as their involvement in social and political affairs increases.

There is no doubt that religious orientations in Islam are sharpened by social and political affairs (Nasution, 1974). The debate about politics in Islam began when the Muslims elected a caliph to replace the Prophet Muhammad as their leader. The conflict worsened when installing the fourth caliph after the death of Utsman, the third caliph. The meeting to determine the right person to lead Islam then became a war. Nasution argues that this political conflict created the conflict in Islamic theology. Each group asserted its belief in the right to a caliph by quoting and

referring to the Qur'an and the Sunnah.⁴ The use of scriptural texts to defend political interests led the conflict into religious affairs, and this marked the emergence of debates on theological matters in Islam. From this political issue then arose what may be called the development of theological writings in Islam (Nasution, 1974).

At present, especially since the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in Turkey which was regarded as the last Islamic kingdom, a second wave of debate about religious orientations in Islam has arisen. The Ottoman Empire's defeat in the battle with Europeans marked the loss of the symbol of the Islamic empire. Since then, the unity of areas that previously belonged to Muslims has been destroyed. The Muslim regions, from Morocco to Indonesia, were captured and colonised by the West.

According to modernist Muslims there are two factors causing the decline of Muslim society. Firstly, religiously, Muslims have neglected the basis of Islamic teachings, and they have added to them non-Islamic traditions. Modernists consider these additions to Islamic traditions as heresy (*bid'ah*). Secondly, Muslims have practised Sufism that is more focused on pious acts (*ibadah*), neglecting other everyday Muslim duties. Traditional Islam rejects this modernist view and defends Sufism as it practises the spiritual side of Islamic teachings.

In the late eighteenth century a new phenomenon, Islamic revivalism, appeared. This revivalism was associated with the

⁴ By agreement of a small group of *ulama* in Madinah, Ali was installed as the fourth caliph to replace Utsman. However, Mu'awiyah did not agree, and claimed that he was the one who should be installed. As a result, there was a war between Ali's group and Mu'awiyah's group. When Mu'awiyah was nearly defeated, he proposed arbitration to settle the conflict. The arbitration reached agreement that both Ali and Mu'awiyah had to resign as caliph, and then the people would decide, by election. However, Mu'awiyah betrayed the agreement and installed himself as caliph after Ali resigned. As a result of this conflict some political groups emerged; first the group of Ali, later well known as Syiah; second, the group of Khawarij, people who left the group of Ali; and third, the group of Mu'awiyah who established the Daulat Umayyah in Damascus. From Mu'awiyah's group developed the group of Sunni.

Wahhabism movement in Saudi Arabia and the Deoband school in India. Unlike the earlier modernism which urged Muslims to embrace secular science, technology and knowledge in all its forms, this second wave of modernism attempted to abandon all the things influenced and created by modern technology. Muslims in Indonesia are influenced by modernism as well as revivalism.

The emergence of different religious orientations in Java, in addition to being caused by these factors, is also influenced by a number of issues concerning the relation between Islam and Javanese culture. The first relates to the differences between the practice of Islamic mysticism and Javanese mysticism. The second concerns the place of the Javanese cultures within Islamic practice. Finally, the practice of Islam in Java has led to a further debate which highlights the differences among Muslim Javanese in describing a good Javanese Muslim. These aspects will be discussed in detail below.

The controversy about the teachings of Sufism in Indonesia is as old as the coming of Islam to Indonesia itself. This is because the spread of Islam in Indonesia, especially in Java, is due to the works of Sufi. In Aceh and North Sumatra, the first Islamic power in Indonesia, there were serious conflicts which resulted in burning materials and books related to a certain Sufi orientation. The conflict was between Nurudin Arraniri and Hamzah al-Fansuri, the latter a follower of a Sufi teaching which claims union with God. Nurudin Arraniri, on the other hand, was one of the elite *ulama* in juridical Islam that was not concerned with Sufism, especially Sufi teachings which claim union with God. It seems that the power at that time supported Nurudin Arraniri and condemned the teachings of Hamzah Al-Fansuri. With the power of the kingdom behind him, Nurudin supported the burning of all the materials and books related to Hamzah's teachings.

Similar events are said to have occurred in Java in connection with a prominent *wali*, Syaikh Siti Jenar, who practised and taught Sufi teaching similar to Hamzah. Syaikh Siti Jenar (also known as Syaikh Lemah Abang or the *wali sesat*) was, it is said, killed by the nine *wali* after meeting to discuss Syaikh Siti Jenar's teachings. After a long discussion, Syaikh Siti Jenar was judged guilty of spreading unlawful mysticism and then punished, to show the people the fate of those who reveal openly the most secret teaching. The case of Syaikh Siti Jenar provides evidence that there were variations in Javanese Islam.

Nevertheless, in some areas the traditions of Siti Jenar still survive and are practised locally. In areas of Delanggu, eastern Klaten, for example, some people still believe that Siti Jenar left them the Sufi teachings that they now practise. Although it is true that Siti Jenar did not leave his teachings in a written form, he left them in the memory of his students who escaped the punishment of the Demak authority. These followers are said to have recorded the teachings in several booklets and later in a book published in early 1900. Siti Jenar's teachings primarily relate to the union between humans and God. Pak Ngamat Tekak⁵ said:

Truly, people who are practising the teachings of Syaikh Siti Jenar would like to preserve the great treasure of their *ulama* who have taught Javanese people about Islam that has been enriched with the great Javanese traditions. Therefore, we want to explore the teachings of Syaikh Siti Jenar that consist of: firstly, the existence of Gusti Allah (God) who owns this world; secondly, regarding spiritual means of communicating with God, the process can be obtained in a personal way; and the last teaching is to preserve and continue the teachings of Syaikh Siti Jenar who has succeeded in understanding Islam through a Javanese approach.⁶

⁵ The name Ngamat Tekak is derived from Arabic. Ahmad and Ishaq are usual names for Muslims. The names are Javanised into Ngamat Tekak.

⁶ *Sak yektosipun, tiang-tiang engkang taksih miraktekaken ajaranipun Syaikh Siti Jenar Punika, inggih kepengen angrungkepi warisanipun ngulomo ingkang sampun maringi pawulang dumating tiang Jawi bab angrungkepi agomo Islam ingkang sampun dipun raciki kalian tradisi gung ting Jawi. Milo kita ajeng ngonceki ajaranipun Syaikh Siti Jenar meniko inggih babapan; Setinggal, kawentonanipun Gusti Allah kang murbaeng dumadi; kaping kaleh, baban olah jiwa kangge sowan lan ngabekti dumateng Gusti Allah meniko wau, kanthi cara-cara kejiwaan ingkang sanget pribadi; dene ingkang pungkasan inggih*

Pak Ngamat's opinion demonstrates the reason that these followers of "Javanised Islam" practise Islam in accordance with their own culture. Moreover, the followers of Javanised Islam wish to preserve the way in which their ancestors understood Islam through the accommodation between Islam and Javanese traditions.

For traditionalist Muslims the practice of Sufism is allowed by Islamic teachings, since some verses within the Qur'an support it. Furthermore, traditionalists maintain that practising Sufism enriches religious feelings and satisfaction. However, unlike the followers of Javanised Islam which allows an individual to use a personal way in practising Sufism, traditionalists urge the use of tested ways (*tariqa*) practiced by knowledgeable Sufi. To examine the legitimacy of a *tariqa*, the traditionalists set requirements, in particular the possession of a *silsila* which is the genealogy of legitimacy for the *tariqa* (Dhofier, 1985; Muhaimin, 1995). A *tariqa* must prove that its genealogy stretches back to the prophet Muhammad before it is recognised as legitimate.

In the eyes of modernist Muslims, Sufism is regarded as a religious practice which does not support the development of Muslim society. This is because Sufism does not pay attention to worldly affairs. Instead of improving living conditions, Sufism is more concerned about the spiritual life. In pursuing the highest sense of spirituality, one should leave the world. Because of this neglect of the material world, modernists reject Sufism.

In relation to the debate over the influence of Javanese traditions on Islamic practices, Javanised Islam accepts the use of Javanese traditions as long as these practices do not contradict the law of Islam. Furthermore, as long as the practices provide benefit for people, they are maintained. Pak

meniko ngelanjutaken lelampahanipun Eyang Siti Jenar ingkang sampun ngrungkepi Islam kanthi pemahaman tiang Jawi.

Sunarjo, who acknowledges himself as a follower of Javanised Islam, asserts:

Javanese people should not leave their Javanese identity behind. This means that Javanese people have to honour themselves as Javanese. Therefore, until now when I pray, I use the Yogya palace as my *kiblat* (direction). This is because the *kiblat* for Javanese is the palace. There are so many examples provided by Javanese scholars in practising Islam, such as *sekaten* (a ceremony to celebrate the commemoration of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad), *garebeg* (celebration for the fasting month, end of fasting month and the day of the Prophet Abraham's sacrifice) and so forth. These practices are examples that should be followed by Javanese people.⁷

From this statement we can see more clearly the way in which the Javanese want to preserve their understanding of Islam in a Javanese way. Furthermore, the statement strongly argues that Islam in Java has to be accommodated to the local culture. The Islamic elements are used to colour activities so that they do not depart from Islam. However, traditionalists request the removal of some elements that are truly opposed to Islam, such as dedicating practices such as *slametan* to the spirits. Modernists strongly oppose any practice that does not originate from the Qur'an or the Sunnah. Modernists urge the purification of Islamic practice in Java from the influence of Javanese traditions.

This discussion outlines the factors propelling the emergence of various religious orientations in Islam in Java. Firstly, religious orientation was established because of political interest. The punishment of Syaikh Siti Jenar provides an example of this. Because of the fact that Syaikh Siti Jenar became a symbol of revolt against an established kingdom, he was killed. The conflict then became religious as the authorities used Islamic teachings to justify their actions.

⁷ *Kudune wong Jowo kuwi ora ninggalake tipake wong Jowo. Artine yo iku atwake dewe iku kudu tetep ngajeni sebagai wong Jowo. Mulo nganti sakiki aku nek sholat kuwi tetep ngadap menyang kraton nyoja, sebab kiblat wong Jowo kuwi kraton. Ua saiki lan wis nyoto nek okeh sing uwis diajarake dening penguasa kraton cara sing kepriye nindakake Islam. Koyo cara sekatenan, garebeg lan sak piturute. Kudune kuwi dadi conto kanggone wong Jowo kabeh.*

Secondly, the religious orientation in Islam was enriched by the spread of Sufi teachings in Muslim societies. However, some modernist Muslims argue that Sufism is responsible for the decline and backwardness of these societies because it is more concerned about life in the hereafter rather than life in this world. This accusation appears to assume the spread of Sufism coincided with the decline of Islamic political power. The tendency of some *tarekat*, organised Sufi groups, to avoid social and political life, according to modernists, had led to the decline of Islamic caliph, especially the Abasid period—1000-1258 (Nasution, 1975). Modernists argued that the tendency of Javanese Muslims to respect and ask *wali* for *baraka* (God's blessing) is an excessive act. According to modernists, Muslims should ask for *baraka* from God alone. However, they also acknowledged that *tarekat* in all Muslim societies had contributed to the spread of Islam (Noer, 1980:11-16).

Thirdly, one has the debate about the place of Islam in a certain locality; should Islam be understood as it developed in its original place or should it be allowed to become enriched by local culture. The various approaches to the understanding of Islam are influenced by the different environments in which the religion interacts. For example, the people in Arabic societies have a different understanding of Islam since they are influenced by the social conditions prevailing before Islam entered the region. This also occurred in Java. Below I will outline the main religious variations that exist uniquely in Java. Although it is true that there are religious variations other than these three—Javanised Islam, Traditionalist Islam, and Modernist Islam—these religious variations represent the main streams of religious variation in Javanese society.

2.1 Javanised Islam

The concept of Javanised Islam is inspired by Woodward's work on the mystical interpretation of Islam in Java. Woodward employed the

term Javanised Islam to refer to the “mystical variant of Javanese Islam” practised by *priyayi* and *abangan*, in contrast to the “normative piety” performed by the *santri* community (Woodward, 1989:2-3).⁸ In his explanation, the normative piety of Islam is a form of Islam that believes in the importance of *shari’a*—Islamic law—defined by the Qur’an and the Hadith to govern every aspect of ritual, political and social affairs. On the other hand, Islam also consists of esoteric teachings that facilitate the formation of the concept of the mystical path to promote union with Allah. Both of these two forms, in religious practice, have been greatly shaped by Javanese traditions. However, the influence of Javanese culture is greater on Islamic mysticism.

In this thesis Javanised Islam also refers to the existence of a wide range of people categorised as “*durung Islam*” who follow what may be called “nominal Islam”, which recognises the existence of Islam but does not practice it in the same ways as Muslims who follow normative piety or the mystical path of Islam. Thus, the definition of Javanised Islam is a loose one. The use of the term in this context is not intended to create a typological variant as Geertz did. Javanised Islam is employed to discuss the existence of certain practices in Java echoing the pluralistic interpretations of Islam in Java.

In discussing Islam in Java, some specific terms are employed to describe religious orientation. Mark Woodward found some people who practise Islam with special reference to Javanese traditions, and labelled them as exercising *Islam Kejawen*, meaning Islam that has been

⁸ Although I have used Woodward’s concept of normative piety and mysticism in Islam in Java, I do not agree with his claim that the *santri* community merely follows normative piety. He appears to be unaware of the fact that *santri* study both normative piety and mysticism in *pesantren* (See also Ricklefs, 1991:183). They are generally required to study both *shari’a* and *tasawuf*. The *kyai* in Java is well known as an expert on *shari’a* as well as on mysticism. Therefore, defining the *santri* community as Muslims who only practise normative piety is misleading.

compounded through the influence of Javanese culture. In the book *Falsafah Siti Djenar* written by Bratakesawa, a book discussing the mystic teachings of Siti Jenar, there are clear examples of Islamic teachings related to mysticism that are influenced by Javanese culture. The members of the group that practise these teachings refer to themselves as following *Sarekat Abangan*, meaning a group which follows the teachings of Syaikh Wali Abang, another name of Syaikh Siti Jenar. In their discussion of Islamic mysticism and Javanese mysticism, some scholars label Javanese people who practise a combination of both as *Islam Kebatinan*, meaning following the mystical teaching which stresses achieving *eling* (remembering God)⁹ in a personal way (Bratakesawa, 1954). Some forms of *Kebatinan* are linked to Islam and some are not. In certain circumstances some Javanese people describe themselves as Islam KTP¹⁰, or as nominally Islamic, meaning they are Muslims but they do not practise Islam. This does not mean that there are no other religious forms of Javanised Islam.

In Klaten, especially in Basin and some areas below Mt Merapi, people still call themselves "*wong selam Jawa*", meaning people following Javanese Islam, which indicates the Javanese factor in their religious life. *Selam Jawa* or Javanised Islam are terms used to defend the Islamic religious practices and rituals which have been combined with Javanese traditions. By performing *sunatan* (circumcision), marriage in the presence

⁹ *Eling* is a complex concept in Javanese mysticism. Its meaning is as wide as the ways used to achieve it. The beliefs in Javanese mysticism, in Raharjo Suwandi's description, range from "... one extreme, that there is no other mystical power but God the Almighty, to the other that there is no personified manifestation of mystical power in the form of God" (Suwandi, 1985:66). *Eling* is the ultimate goal in Javanese mysticism that may be described as achieving the feeling of *tentrem*—satisfaction, harmony and happiness. Therefore, *eling* is just not merely a meditation to remember God, but it is awareness that inside every human lies the existence of God.

¹⁰ KTP stand for *Kartu Tanda Penduduk*, which is the official identity card for Indonesians. Islam KTP implies that Islam is utilised only as an identity.

of a *kyai*, or *modin* or death and birth with a certain *do'a* (prayer) from a *modin*, for example, they associate themselves with Islam. On the other hand, the blending of certain Islamic practices with Javanese tradition shows an intention to hold on to their Javanese identity.

Several characteristics could be included in Javanised Islam. First, those Javanese who acknowledge themselves as Muslim but do not practise Islam as pious Muslims. They employ Islam as a symbol for their identity in rituals such as childbirth, death and marriage. Their identity as Muslims determines the services for these important events, and ensures Islamic procedures. Death rituals, for example, will be handled in accordance with Islamic procedures. To show their link to Islam, these people practise a minimum of Islamic rituals, such as fasting on the first and the last day of *Ramadhan*.

The second characteristic of Javanised Islam refers to Javanese Muslims who know Islamic teachings and obligations, but practise them in accord with their Javanese traditions. For example, these people practise praying on Friday by performing *shalat* at home, using the radio broadcast from the Yogyakarta palace. These people argue that because the centre for the Javanese people is the palace, they should direct their prayers there and follow the *imam* of the palace mosque. There is a strong belief in Javanese society that Javanese people should follow their leaders regarding religious life.

The third characteristic comprises Javanese people who primarily describe themselves as Muslims and regard Islam as the same as other religions. These people see Islam as providing spiritual guidance for spiritual wisdom, just in the same way as other religions do. They believe people can use any methods from any religion to pursue spiritual wisdom. This is because all religions teach people spiritual happiness. As

the quest for the spiritual is a personal matter, one can employ any means, such as Islam, for obtaining spiritual wisdom.

To provide an elaborated view on Javanised Islam, Pak Ngamat Tekak, a defender of Javanised Islam, said:

If you ask me "what is your religion?", my answer will always be Islam. However, my Islam is not that of other Muslims. I am a "*wong Javanised Islam*", one who believes in the existence of one God, and I am also a person who has been determined by God as a Javanese. Therefore, these two identities, Muslim and Javanese, have to be accommodated. I cannot abandon one of them. For this reason, I therefore conduct my *Jum'atan* (Friday prayer) in accord with the manner of the palace. This is because the palace is my *kiblat* as a Javanese. When I was young, every Thursday I went to the Yogya palace. On the Thursday night, I was awake all night with my colleagues. The next morning we went to the mosque (*masjid Agung*). Nowadays, I am too weak to go to the palace. As a replacement I use the radio which broadcasts live the *Jum'atan* (Friday prayer) at the *masjid Agung*.¹¹

The practice maintained by Pak Ngamat Tekak is clearly designed to bridge the two cultures, Islam and Java. Pak Ngamat Tekak still prays on Friday, and uses the Yogyakarta palace¹² as the direction of praying. However, the use of the palace as the *kiblat* is not intended to replace the *Ka'bah*, the Muslim *kiblat*. Pak Ngamat Tekak uses the palace as he believes that the palace is the centre for Javanese religious understanding. Therefore, the king, who is represented by the palace, is his leader (*imam*) in prayers.

¹¹ Nek kotwe takon karo aku, "Opo tho mbah agamau?" Jawabanku mesti Islam. Yo mung, aku ora koyo wong Islam liyane kuwi. Aku iku wong Javanised Islam sing ngimani enenging Gusti Allah kang Maha Siji, lan ugo aku iku wong kang ditakdirke karo pengeran lahir ono ing tanah Jawa. Dadine loro-lorone kudu digawa, ora isih terus sijine diselehke mengkono wae. Mulakno, nganti saiki aku nek Jumatan isih madep menyang kraton, sebabe kraton iku dadi kiblate wong Jawa. Kuwi mertandani nek aku isih ngrungkepi jiwa Jawaku. Rikolo aku isih enom, pendhak dino Kemis aku menyang kraton. Malam Jumat lek-lekan karo konco-konco neng sekitar Kraton, isuke menyang Mesjid Agung. Saiki aku wis ora kuat, dadi aku mung ngrungokke radio soko Masjid Agung, lan salatku bareng karo radio.

¹² In Suwandi's thesis, describing the existence of a Javanese wali, called Embah Wali, in Blitar, the use of the Javanese *kraton* as central focus is apparent. During his time wandering to pursue mystical wisdom (*jelowo*), Embah Wali visited the Yogyakarta *kraton* several times (Suwandi, 1985:99-100). He believed that Sultan Hamengkubuwana IX, the king at that time, had the highest mystical power in Java (Suwandi, 1985:88).

Pak Ngamat Tekak's opinion is supported by another informant, Ngadimin, who acknowledges that he follows Javanised Islam. Ngadimin said that the most important contribution of Islam to Javanese religious life is the introduction of the concept of one God, the ultimate God. This then helps Javanese to direct their meditation or prayers to the one God, *Gusti Kang Murbaeng Dumadi*. However, unlike Muslims who are very strict in the ways they communicate with God, such as through prayers, *dhikr*, fasting, and reciting the Qur'an, Javanese ways, as told by the elders, are determined as personal matters. This means that each person could have a different way. There is no formal way, it is a personal choice only.

Ngadimin further argues that religious experience, especially the spiritual experience of meeting God, is a personal matter, meaning that only the person who has had the experience can feel it. Therefore, he supports the idea of letting people choose their own way and method to approach and express religious experience. Ngadimin also showed his disagreement with the punishment given to Syaikh Siti Jenar. According to Ngadimin, Syaikh Siti Jenar had found his own way to approach God, which could only be grasped and explained to himself. Therefore, it is understandable that when people asked him to explain his approach, it was misinterpreted. For Ngadimin, Syaikh Siti Jenar should have been given the freedom to express his experience with God. Ngadimin argued further:

According to my opinion, the teachings of Syaikh Siti Jenar about the oneness of God with humans (*manunggaling kawula Gusti*) are his own experience which had been practised for a long time. Because Syaikh Siti Jenar knew both Islamic mysticism and Javanese mysticism, he attempted to combine both of them. For Javanese, religion is concerned with the spiritual life rooted in the soul and heart. This is the essence of Javanese acceptance of Islamic teachings. Therefore, when Syaikh Siti Jenar discussed the matter with the other *wali* in Demak, the centre of Islamic power at that time, all the *wali* acknowledged that the teachings of Siti Jenar did not deviate from Islamic teachings. However, other *wali* were afraid that the influence of the teachings of Siti Jenar in Southern Central Java might increase, which could endanger the authority of the *wali* in Demak. Furthermore, Syaikh Siti

Jenar was punished by the *wali* in Demak to warn people who wanted to rebel against Demak. Thus, it is clear that the punishment of Syaikh Siti Jenar is related to politics, not religion.¹³

Javanese argue that their attachment to Islam is like the flow of water, meaning that it is a faith that came to Java and was accepted by Javanese. Islam has spread all through the island and become the dominant religious discourse in Javanese society. Using the famous Javanese proverb “*nuruti lakune zaman*” (to follow the era), Javanese people justify their attachment to the particular religion which dominates the religious discourse at the time. Therefore, it is understandable if Javanese quite easily convert to other religions. However, this is not an indication that Javanese people do not really care about religion. The truth is, according to both Ngamat Tekak and Ngadimin, that Javanese are more concerned about religious substance than formal religion.

Some people argued that the punishment of Syaikh Siti Jenar was a serious warning from the religious scholars about the danger of mysticism that is not guided by proper understanding of Islam. Others maintained that the punishment was politically motivated to subdue the growing tendency of people, especially in the southern area of Java, who rejected the authority of the Islamic kingdom in Demak. They believed that the teaching of Syaikh Siti Jenar remained valid.

¹³ Miturut penggalahan kulo, wulangan Syaikh Siti Jenar babapan ngilmu manunggaling Kawula lan Gusti puniko pengalaman pribadi ingkang sampun dipun prakteken piyambak. Lantaran praktek sarto nglampahi coro coro kebatinan Jawa lan Islam, Siti Jenar nyobi nggandengaken loronipun wau. Agomo nika kanggene wong Jawa niku lak babapan ingkang nyangkut masalah ati, jiwa lan roso dateng ingkang Maha Kuwaos, inggih meniko Gusti Allah. Mulo meniko wong Jawa gampang nompo agomo ingkang gadah ajaran baban jiwa. Mulo meniko, rikolo rerembungan kalian wali sanisipun wantening Demak, sayektosipun para wali wau ngakeni nek sayektosipun panggagasipun Syaikh Siti Jenar meniko mboten kleru miterat agami Islam. Namung poro Wali walhi nek samangkeh pengaruhipun Syaikh Siti Jenar niku wau kalangkang ageng katimbang para wali ing tanah Demak. Lan ugo Syaikh Siti Jenar meniko dipun pejahi dening Wali wonten Demak kangge prengetan dumateng tiang Jawa ingkang bade mbalelo dumateng negari Demak. Uha meniko sak yektosipun lak perkoro kekuasaan kemawon, mboten agami. Ing miri panggagasipun Siti Jenar dados alasan kemawon.

The basic teaching of the group *Sarekat Abangan*, as set out by Bratakesawa (1954), is based on the belief that:

Allah, who created the earth and the sky with its contents, who is also described as *bapa-babu*, who rules and monitors all activities of the world, does not exist. This is because no one has witnessed Allah. The world created itself. Therefore, "Allah" is only a name (character) given by humans.

... Humans are covered, powered, and ruled by "*ingsun*". The soul of *ingsun* in humans is the real existence. That *ingsun*, which resides in humans, is the real God (*pangeran*), who has 20 characters whom we call Hyang Suksma, Hyang Widi, and whom we call Allah. Therefore, the essence of remembrance (*eling*) is regarded as the God of humans.¹⁴

From this description it is clear that *Sarekat Abangan* views God as a *budi* that exists in every human. However, people have different names for the *Gusti* or *pangeran* that actually exists in every human being. Sang Hyang Widi or Allah is only a name invented by people. But the actual God resides in every human.¹⁵ Therefore, for *Syarikat Abangan*, the way to communicate with God is a personal matter. It is up to individuals to determine the best way to attain close relations with God.

Apart from the description in Bratakesawa's book, I did not find any other information about the *Sarekat Abangan*. Some villagers who informed me about the teaching of Syaik Siti Jenar said that the group had disappeared a long time ago. When the group still existed, an informant

¹⁴ *Inggang kasebut nitahaken bumi langit dalah saisinipun, inggih inggang kasebut bapa-babu, inggang angraton lan anglimputi sadaja gumlaring alam punika: boten wonten, amargi boten wonten tijang inggang saged pepanggihan kalijan Allah. Dene kita manungsa anggenipun njipati gumlaring alam punika: sampun awujud kados wontenipun samangke punika. Dados "Allah" punika tetap namung asma kemawon, tur inggang njukani nama inggih pun manungsa piyambak.*

Manungsa punika kalimputan, kapurba tuwin kawusesa dening ... ingsun. Suksma sinuksmanipun ingsun dateng manungsa punika ing dalem kawontenanipun inggang wondos sanget. Inggih "ingsun" punika sadjatosipun pangeraning manungsa, inggang kagungan sipat kalih dasa, tuwin inggang kita djuluki Hyang Suksma, Hyang Widi, ugi inggang kita juluki Allah. Kasebut budi eling punika kaanggep gusti, pangeraning manungsa" (Bratakesawa, 1954:30-36).

¹⁵ A similar explanation is also found in Suwandi's thesis. Although Embah Wali, the central figure in Suwandi's thesis did not follow *Sarekat Abangan*, Embah Wali explained the existence of *Gusti Allah* "Lord God" in that line of thought. According to Embah Wali the term *Gusti Allah* consists of two words, *Gusti*, Lord, representing male, and *Allah*, derived from *kalah*, meaning "to lose", representing females. Therefore, for Embah Wali the term *Gusti Allah* represents the existence of *wong urip*—human being (Suwandi, 1985:141-142).

said, they were an exclusive group which hid themselves from other people. However, when they met Muslims they actively debated the existence of God and how humans could worship God in a better way. Unlike Mbah Gerobag, who still showed high devotion to the Javanese king, the *Sarekat Abangan* did not pay any attention to the king. "Because God (*Gusti*) resides in the human soul, therefore each human soul has its own ways to unite (communicate) with God. *Sebab Gusti kuwi manjing ana ing sukma manungsa, maka tiap jiwa duwe cara dewe kanggo manunggal marang Gusti*".

Thus, Javanised Islam maintains Javanese traditions for the explanation and interpretation of Islam. Furthermore, by discussing Javanised Islam one can see the degree of some Javanese people's attachment to Islam. Those who follow Javanised Islam embrace Islam and Javanese traditions for their identities. These two perspectives are crucial factors in understanding the discourse on Islam in Java.

2.2 Traditionalist Islam

The development of traditional Islam in Java was propelled by the emergence of modernist Islam which attacked the position of traditional Islam. Modernist Islam abandons practices which are traditionally regarded as Islamic, such as performing *slametan*. Moreover, modernist Islam also attacks the influence of local traditions on Islamic practices and rituals. Before the coming of modernist Islam in the early nineteenth century, there was no group recognised as opposing traditional Islam. The dominant discourse among Javanese Muslims was to practice Islam without questioning the influence of Javanese tradition. Therefore, when modernist Islam began its mission of purifying religious practices from the influence of Javanese traditions, some people disagreed. They argued that such religious practices can not only be justified by Islamic doctrine, but also can be used as symbols of interaction between Islam and local

traditions. Moreover, they maintained that abandoning the practices meant breaking the accommodation between Javanese Muslims and their previous traditions.

Traditional Islam, as described by Nasr, actually opposes modernist Islam, which is much influenced by western ideas of knowledge and technology. Modernist Muslims tend to view religion only as a rational entity that should be understood by rational thinking (Nasr, 1987). Although aspects of this claim may be true, the modernist tends to forget the other vision of Islamic religion, that is the spiritual side. Nasr argues that Islam consists of these two sides, rational and spiritual. Emphasising the rational aspect of Islam will lead to a loss of its spiritual aspect. According to traditional Islam, there are three important foundations; *Aqidah* (credo, belief), *Syari'ah* (norms and laws regarding the relation between humans and God and between humans and humans) and *Akhlaq* (ethics, the spiritual attitude toward God and life). By applying rational thinking only, modernists reduce Islam to *Syari'ah*. Therefore, as a result, humans are supported in their rational emotion without spiritual emotion (Nasr, 1987).

Traditional Islam is Islam that accepts both the content and form of the Qur'an, along with its traditional commentaries. It also accepts the Hadith, which is cultivated through qualified transmission based on the historical continuity of tradition. Traditional Islam also believes in the *Syari'ah*, which is codified in the classical schools of law (*madhahib*) (Dhofier, 1985; Nasr, 1987). When putting forward new views on Islamic law, besides using legal principles, traditional Islam always refers to "traditional principles such as *qiyas*, *ijma'* and *istihsan*"¹⁶ (Nasr, 1987).

¹⁶ *Qiyas* means analogue. In Islamic jurisprudence, *qiyas* defines the legal status of something by using an analogue of something, which has similarities, that already has a definite legal status. *Ijma'* means consultative gathering. In Islamic jurisprudence *ijma'* means determining a

Unlike modernist Islam, which rejects the practice of Sufism, traditional Islam defends it. Traditional Islam considers Sufism as "the inner dimension at the heart of the Islamic revelation" (Nasr, 1987).

In Java, traditional Islam is primarily maintained through the life of *pesantren* and their *kyai*. According to Dhofier, the survival of traditional Islam against the attacks of modernist Islam depends on *pesantren* and their *kyai*. A *pesantren* maintains traditional Islam by standardising its traditions based on the beliefs of traditional Islam. Therefore, Dhofier argues that as long as *pesantren* traditions still live in Java, traditional Islam will survive.

To maintain the continuity of *pesantren* in Java, *kyai* and their communities, including families and students, maintain the traditions of the *pesantren*. Among them is the tradition of endogamous marriages. As described by Dhofier (1985) in his excellent book, *Tradisi Pesantren*, *kyai* of *pesantren* in Java arrange endogamous marriages for their families. This type of marriage strengthens the emotional links among *pesantren* in Java. Furthermore, endogamous marriage ensures the continuity of the *pesantren*'s control over *kyai* and their families.

Kyai in Java also rely on the so-called "*santri musafir*" (journeying student) to maintain the *pesantren* traditions. Each *pesantren* is designed to have a certain expertise in Islamic knowledge. If one wants to study a certain specialised field of Islamic knowledge, one has to go to the *pesantren* specialising in it. To study the variety of Islamic knowledge, therefore, one has to go to several *pesantren*. To complete his/her study of Islam, as Dhofier has described, a student has to journey for several years from one *pesantren* to another. This kind of intellectual chain is designed

legal status of something by the agreement of a consultative gathering of *ulama*. *Istihsan* means considering the good aspects of a practice. In Islamic jurisprudence, *istihsan* means determining the law status of a practice by considering its good role and function in the society.

to establish an academic link among *santri* and their *kyai*. Therefore, when a *santri* establishes a *pesantren*, he/she will maintain the links with the elder *pesantren*.

Another tradition which maintains the continuity of traditional Islam in Java is the use of a core set of homogeneous books which supports the views of traditional Islam. The books of *ulama* (Islamic scholars) who lived from the seventh century to the thirteenth century are used in *pesantren* teachings. By using these same sources, *pesantren* can maintain their common views on religious matters.

Finally, the most important tool to preserve the life of traditional Islam developed by *pesantren* in Java is the *tariqa*. *Tariqa* literally means, in a religious context, a way to paradise. In its development, the *tariqa* then is defined as a set of rituals derived from a qualified *ulama* to become closer to God (*muraqabah*). In this regard, the *tariqa* is frequently associated with Sufism (the study and practice of the inner and spiritual aspect of Islamic teachings). As a specific term, *tariqa* signifies an organisation of people who practise a certain set of pious acts such as *dhikr* formulated by a teacher. To show their emotional dedication, students take an oath of dedication (*bai'a*) to their teacher (Dhofier, 1985:135). As the *tariqa* requires trust in submission to the leader, it provides a medium for strengthening the emotional ties among followers and their *kyai*. The *tariqa* contributes to the spread of traditional Islam through its huge number of dedicated followers, since the *tariqa* is attractive to Javanese who wish to undertake a dedicated spiritual quest. Furthermore, as the legitimization of each *tariqa* is traced through the intellectual links and the status of its leaders, the *tariqa* preserves links between *kyai* in Java.

According to Dhofier, *tarekat* played a major role in spreading Islam in Java. The development of a *tarekat* organisation in Java, according to

Rinkes, began in the sixteenth century when Abdul Muhyi established *Tarekat Syatariyah* in Karang West Java (Dhofier, 1985:140-143). He was a student of Abdurrauf Sinkel, who first brought *Tarekat Syatariyah* to Sumatra. *Tarekat Qodiriyah* was also developed in Java. This *tarekat* came to Java via Hamzah Fansury who wandered through Indonesia to promote it. Other *tarekat* such as *Tarekat Siddiqiyah* which has spread in Jombang, *Tarekat Wahidiyah* which has spread in Kediri, and *Tarekat Tijaniyah* which has spread in urban areas, also exist in Java. Among these various *tarekat*, *Tarekat Qodiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah* has the most Javanese Muslim followers. The Syaikh Khatib Sambas, who was known as the leader of *Tarekat Qodiriyah* in Mecca, developed this *tarekat*. This combined *tarekat* is regarded as the most legitimate *tarekat* (*mu'tabar*) by NU (Dhofier, 1985:143-144). Because various *tarekat* exist in Java, in 1979 NU established a federation of *tarekat* named *Jami'ah Thoriqoh Mu'tabarah Nahdliyin* (Federation of Legitimate *Tarekat* of NU). The establishment of this federation was to provide guidance for *tarekat* in Indonesia. The most important function of the federation is to monitor the *tarekat* in order to protect them from malpractice such as developing the practice into a cult.

Traditional Islam supports Javanese pursuing spiritual wisdom. However, traditional Islam requires a strict procedure be adhered to in using *tariqa*. This is because misuse of *tariqa* can lead to *syirik*, the most serious sin in Islam. Therefore, the use of *silsila* in *tariqa* teachings ensures the derivation of the *tariqa* from the Prophet Muhammad's teachings. A teacher of *tariqa* must show that his *silsila* has an unbroken link to the Prophet Muhammad.

Traditional Islam takes the methods of the *wali* for spreading Islam in Java as a perfect example of the practice of Islam. By using local traditions that are enriched by Islamic teachings, Javanese *wali* have succeeded in establishing Islam in Java. For example, through Javanese

tembang (songs), Javanese *wali* deliver Islamic teachings to the people. Such use of local traditions has helped Javanese people to understand Islam. In addition, people feel that Islam does not destroy their local traditions. Therefore, traditional Islam strongly rejects modernist Islam which advocates abandoning local practices which are regarded as non-Islamic.

Based on these characteristics, one can see how traditional Islam maintains its position on religious and social matters. Traditional Islam maintains the status of religious leaders, whose views become the source for the people. In regard to mysticism, traditional Islam believes that spiritual achievement, which is manifested in the union with God or knowing God, is a manifestation of the spiritual aspect of Islam. In observing religious practices, traditional Islam sustains local practices.

2.3 Modernist Islam

The rise of modernist Islam in Indonesia was influenced by the ideas of modernist activists in Egypt such as Muhammad Abduh and his student Muhammad Rasyid Ridlo (Alfian, 1969; Noer, 1980). Their ideas were brought to Indonesia through two channels, publications and pilgrimage (*hajj*). Muhammad Abduh and his colleague published a magazine called *Al-Mannar* (The Tower) to spread the idea of modernism. To improve the conditions of Muslim society, Muhammad Abduh argued, Muslims should rectify their educational methods. Islamic education should not be limited to teaching only religious knowledge, but should also teach "secular" knowledge. Furthermore, to understand religion he also urged the use of a rational approach. *Al-Mannar* was widely read by the younger Indonesian Muslim generation.

Returned *hajj* from Mecca contributed to the introduction of modernist ideas to Indonesia. Some Indonesians who make the *hajj* to Mecca not only use it to fulfil their duties to complete the ritual of *hajj*,

they also use the time to study religious knowledge. While waiting for the *hajj* or for their return to Indonesia, Indonesian Muslims, who were mostly religious teachers, spent the time studying Islam with Indonesian teachers who had stayed in Saudi Arabia. Ideas of the Islamic reformists were supported by the Arabian authority, which had accepted these ideas in the official religious schools (*mazhab*) in the region. Therefore, the teachings of Islam were influenced by this reformist movement, which strongly recommended purifying Islam from non-Islamic influences. In this climate, it is, therefore, understandable if some Indonesian *hajj* who studied Islam in Saudi Arabia were influenced by the ideas of modernism and reformism.

These young returned *hajj* compared the situation in Indonesia with the situation of Muslim societies in general which needed renewal and purification. They argued that the corrupted Islamic practices in Arab and North African Muslim societies were also found in Indonesia. Firstly, as there was strong sentiment against colonialism in North African Muslim societies, there was a strong feeling among these returned *hajj* to follow the idea of Pan Islamism launched by Jamaluddin Al-Afghani to fight against Dutch colonialism in Indonesia. Secondly, there were a lot of Islamic rituals and practices that had been influenced by local traditions. These young modernists, influenced mostly by the Wahabi movement in Saudi Arabia, believed that these corrupted practices should be purified.¹⁷ Thirdly, the education system used by Muslims in Indonesia at that time

¹⁷ At the time when Ahmad Dahlan, the founder of Muhammadiyah, studied Islam in Mecca in 1890, Abduh's teachings had spread to Mecca. His teacher, Ahmad Chatib Minangkabau, urged his students to read Abduh's teaching in order to reject it. Ahmad Chatib was a great Malay scholar who gained prestigious status as an Imam of the Syafi'i School (*Mazhab Syafi'i*). Hasyim Asy'ari, the founder of the NU was also his student (Dhofier, 1985:86; Noer, 1980:38-39) [see Figure 1, p. 200]. Azra has argued that some Malay students in Mecca when they returned to Indonesia refused to use *tarekat* for reforming Islam. *Tarekat* appeared to be useful for spreading Islam, not reforming Islam. However, some others, such as Hasyim Asy'ari, used *tarekat* and *pesantren* to spread Islam in Java (Azra, 1994:163).

focused only on teaching Islamic knowledge (*pelajaran agama*). Following Muhammad Abduh, a prominent ideologist of modernist Islam in Egypt, modernists in Java argued that the Islamic curriculum should include general subjects (*pelajaran umum*). The famous *hadith* of the Prophet Muhammad which says, "pursue knowledge even in China", urges Muslims to study not only religious but also secular knowledge. Finally, the majority of Muslims, especially at *pesantren* in Java, were interested in practising Sufism, neglecting the social aspect of Islam (Ali, 1960:16-17; Azra, 1994:163). These religious, social and political conditions in Java were conducive to the rise of modernist and reformist Islam.

In some parts of Javanese society, especially in the region close to Yogyakarta and Surakarta, modernists argued that mixed practices combining Islamic practice and Javanese traditions were apparent. For example, the tradition of *lebaran* or *sungkeman* at *Idul Fitri*, which celebrates the end of *Ramadhan* fasting, is formed by these two traditions. The practice of *lebaran* and *sungkeman* involves visiting parents, older persons and relatives asking for "forgiveness of mistakes and *pengestu* (prayers, blessings)". The Javanese tradition of "*malem selikuran*", a special attitude to face the coming of the glorious night "*lailatul qadr*"¹⁸, on the twenty-first day of *Ramadhan*, is another example of an Islamic activity which is formed by the influence of Islam and Javanese traditions. At *malem selikuran*, people perform a *slametan* by making *apem* and burning

¹⁸ The night of *lailatul qadr* is a night that is considered the best night of the year. Its spiritual value is more precious than a thousand months. People who obtain the *lailatul qadr* will gain *baraka* that is equal to performing a good deed for a thousand months. However, *ulama* still debate what night the *lailatul qadr* will be given. Some *ulama* argue that it will be given at the same time as the Qur'an was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad for the first time, that is on the 17th day of *Ramadhan*. Other *ulama* argue that the night cannot be decided because the Prophet only told Muslims to await the coming of *lailatul qadr* in the last ten days of *Ramadhan*, especially on its uneven nights, the 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th and 29th. For most Javanese people the *lailatul qadr* is believed to be revealed on the 21st day of *Ramadhan*. Therefore, they make a special ceremony, named *malem selikuran*, to mark the significance of the 21st day of *Ramadhan*.

"*obor*" (torch) in every corner of the house.¹⁹ Many people stay awake all night to await the sign of the glorious night. It is believed that the *lailatul qadr* will only come to those who are awake. If one can see clearly the sign of the *lailatul qadr*, which is symbolised by a light falling from the sky, one will become a happy person in this world or on the Day of Judgment. For modernists, these practices should be returned to the correct practice according to the Qur'an and the Sunnah.

According to modernist views, some Islamic traditions mixed with Javanese traditions are not always in accord with Islamic teachings. For example, most *slametan* conducted at death ceremonies are not Islamic. The Javanese perform *slametan* for the dead on the first, second, third, seventh, fortieth and hundredth day, one year and thousandth day after death. In these *slametan*, people gather in the deceased's house and recite *tahlil* and *dhikr* as well as the Qur'an. The idea of this *slametan* is to perform good deeds so that the deceased will receive a reward for those pious acts. In Klaten, people recite a certain number of *tahlil*, such as ten thousand *tahlil*. This number will be finished by the seventh day after the death. To mark the counting, small stones are used. When the desired number is reached, the stones are buried at the tomb of the deceased. It is believed that the stones, which symbolise the reward (*pahala*) of reciting the *tahlil*, will be received by the dead. Modernists argue that such a practice is not Islamic. There is no reference from the Qur'an or the Sunnah for Muslims to perform such practices. People cannot pass on their rewards to other individuals. This is because one has to face the

¹⁹ *Apem* and *obor* at *selikuran* have special meanings. *Apem* was originally derived from the Arabic word "afwan"; forgiving. Therefore, the use of *apem* in the *selikuran* is to urge Muslims to ask forgiveness from God. In *Ramadhan* Allah opens wide His door for those who want to repent and return to the right path of Allah. *Obor* signifies spirit and light. The use of *obor* is a symbol of the seriousness of people who attempt to seek the special blessing on the night of *lailatul qadr*. Furthermore, *obor* also symbolises the light that will shine in every human who receives the revelation of the night of *lailatul qadr*.

responsibility of one's own deeds. If the *pahala* could be passed on, then it would be easy for rich people. When they died they could invite many people who could recite the Qur'an and *tahlil*. The reward of the reciting could then be passed on to them. God would then forgive them although they have done bad deeds in their life. This argument does not fit with the Qur'an and the Sunnah. Therefore, modernist Muslims condemn the practice and regard such *slametan* as heresy.

Furthermore, modernists also criticise the way in which traditional Islam educates Muslims. As is apparent in the *pesantren's* curriculum, traditional Islam focuses education only on religious knowledge. Therefore, modernists urge Muslims to augment their education with "secular knowledge" in addition to Islamic knowledge. Modernists propose an education system using classical methods with grades to evaluate the progress of the student.

To implement these ideas, modernist Muslims have founded new educational institutions separate from the *pesantren*. These institutions are well known as *madrasah* (derived from Arabic, meaning a school). In these *madrasah* students are taught not only Islamic knowledge but also secular knowledge. Unlike *pesantren*, *madrasah* use a classic method which determines the grade of students. The argument for the addition of secular knowledge into the *madrasah* is to emphasise its importance for understanding Islam. One of the most significant results of this addition is the modernist correction of the *kiblat* (direction) for mosques in Indonesia. In Indonesia the direction of *kiblat* is 230 degrees. The discovery of the exact direction was a surprise because the *kiblat* used in mosques in Indonesia differs from the direction of the *Ka'bah*. Modernists changed the *kiblat* of the mosques to the new one.

There are various social religious organisations that can be included in the modernist category, including Muhammadiyah, Persis and Al-

Irsyad (Noer, 1980). Muhammadiyah was established in Yogyakarta in 1912 by a young Islamic teacher, Ahmad Dahlan, from the Yogyakarta palace community. The founder of Persis was Ahmad Hassan, who had strong followers in West Java. Al-Irsyad is a modernist organisation which has strong membership among Arabian descendants who live in Indonesia. These modernist movements promote religious resurgence and modernisation through three means: education, social activities and publications.

To sum up, the emergence of various religious orientations in Java—Javanised Islam, traditionalist Islam and modernist Islam—was propelled by their different approaches in locating Islam in a Javanese discourse. Those who follow the idea of Javanised Islam argue that Islam and Javanese culture can both be used as sources for rituals. On the other hand, traditionalist Muslims maintain that Islam has to become the main foundation of these rituals. However, traditionalist Muslims allow Javanese to use Javanese traditions as long as they are accompanied by Islamic values. In this regard, traditionalists allow the practice of Javanese mysticism through the endorsement of Islamic teachings. Modernist Muslims, however, argue that Islam in Java is continually developing to achieve its true nature. The use of Javanese elements in practising Islam should be seen as temporary, meaning that these Javanese elements can one day be purified and eliminated.

3. Social and Religious Practices

The different approaches to understanding Islam can be seen clearly through practise in everyday life. Javanese, as pointed out correctly by Geertz, tend to see their lives as a reflection of their religious affiliation. Thus Geertz was right in saying that certain practices demonstrate religious identity. However, as noted previously, his description of

abangan, *santri* and *priyayi* practices implied a fixed religious pattern in Java. Religious life in Klaten, however, demonstrates different phenomena. A simple example is the *slametan* ceremony, which Geertz maintains is the practice of *abangan* people, and not observed by *santri* and *priyayi* groups. All these groups perform *slametan*. Even in a village where modernist Muslims are the majority, *slametan* can become the village's official religious event. Moreover, if the term *slametan* is traced to its origin, it derives from Arabic *salama*, which means submission, peace, safety and health. The word Islam also derives from the same root *salama*. People conduct a *slametan* by performing a certain ceremony, the main goal of which is to obtain safety and peace. According to traditionalist Muslims, *slametan* is only a means, not the goal itself. *Slametan* is a medium through which people can interact with God as well as with other humans.

It is true that in Java we can observe some practices of Javanese Muslims which differ from other Muslim societies. But these differences have nothing to do with ideological understanding. Rather, these differences relate to the struggle for social identification. In other words, the practices mark a social identity different from other social groups. I will discuss this below.

3.1. Religious Practice of Javanised Islam

Since the focus of Javanised Islam is on the personal quest for spiritual wisdom, the religious practices of the followers of Javanised Islam are derived from their personal experience. Two important aspects characterise the way in which the followers of Javanised Islam perform their religious practices. Firstly, their practices are mainly concerned with the mystical way of obtaining spiritual wisdom. Secondly, the followers of Javanised Islam preserve what they say is their "elders' inheritance" (*warisan orangtua*).

3.1.1 Religion is Personal Experience

My religious beliefs, and how I practise my religion are my personal choice. It is none of any one else's business", that was the answer of Mbah Gerobag when I asked about his religious practices which some villagers regard as weird (*nylenek*). Mbah Gerobag, so named because he owned a *gerobag* (a cow-cart), is, as he described himself, a Javanese Muslim (*wong Jawa Muslim*). Unlike other Muslims in the village who actively practised religious duties, Mbah Gerobag did not follow such practices. He preferred his own way of worshipping Allah.

In his big home, Mbah Gerobag used one room, *seonthong*, as his meditation room. In one corner of this room, there was a *tobongan*, an incense-burning place. As he had used the *tobongan* for a long time, the ash of the incense had piled up. There was a small mattress for meditation which was directed toward the *kraton* in Yogyakarta. Sitting in the *sila* position (with the feet folded in front), and folding the hands in front of the chest, palms together as in the position of *sembah* (giving honour), both eyes closed, he begins to concentrate on *eling* (remembering) God.

The concentration is created by focusing all attention and thoughts to one direction, that is God. When all energies are focused, God will be present in our heart. God is actually already in our soul; if we focus all our strength and energy toward Him, God will be felt.

There are different ways in which people concentrate. For me, it's my own way, which other people might disagree with. Every individual has his/her own potential way to focus and communicate with God. For example, one might prefer to perform meditations at sacred sites such as the tombs of *wali* of Javanese rulers. By meditating at the sacred sites, people might obtain help from the *wali* because it is believed that those pious people do not spiritually die. Therefore, people can concentrate fully and gain spiritual happiness.

I will perform meditation whenever my heart feels like it. There is no certain time frame that I have to follow. The impulse of remembering God sometimes decreases and at other times increases. When I feel that I have made myself distant from God, I will perform meditation. An indication of being distant from God is when I lose my spiritual balance. Unlike the five prayers, which have set times, meditation is not determined. However, I force myself to meditate at night before I go to sleep.

Of course I am a Muslim. During *Ramadhan*, the month of fasting, I fast. However, I never fast the whole month. I fast only at the beginning and at the end of the month. Some pious Muslims regard me "*pasa kendang*" (fasting *kendang*, a

drum which is covered on both sides but is empty at the middle). I do not act as I do because I cannot fast for the whole month, but because, in principle, I often fast on normal days. At *Idul Fitri* (the celebration at the end of the fasting month), I pray with other Muslims, and after that I open my house for *ujung* (visiting) for my relatives and neighbours.

In celebrating *Idul Fitri*, there are three important events. Firstly, conducting a *slametan* before the prayer. In the old days, in the early morning Mbah Modin invited people for *kondangan* by striking the *kentongan* (a bamboo sounder). Gathered in a group, every family brought its *tumpengan* (rice with vegetables) to be prayed over by the *modin*. Secondly, on the fifth day after *Idul Fitri* we conducted *slametan* again. However, this time the *kondangan* was performed with *ketupat* (rice cooked in coconut leaves). This *slametan* was called *ketupatan*, meaning *slametan* with *ketupat*. In my childhood, *ketupatan* was as busy as *Idul Fitri*. Every child hung *ketupat* around their necks. Now, the situation is totally different.

I said to my family, when I die, I would like to be buried in the Islamic way. If the *modin* does not want to pray an Islamic prayer for me because I never acted as other Muslims did, it is all right with me. God will know what is inside my heart. I believe in the existence of God who created the world. The difference is that I have my own way to say thanks to God. Prayer (*salat*) is one way among many to remember God.

Because of these views, Mbah Gerobag was labelled by people in the village as Muslim but *nyleneh*. As one villager said:

Since Mbah Gerobag prays at *Idul Fitri* and *Idul Adha* (twice in a year) and also fasts for two days, at the end and at the beginning of *Ramadhan*, well he is a Muslim. However, he does not want to participate in other Islamic activities. This is a weird thing (*aneh*). Maybe Mbah Gerobag understands Islam in a different way. Mbah Gerobag is an example of a Muslim who does not yet *ngalim* (know) about Islam. He understands Islam only partly. It is true that Islamic teachings consist of prerequisites for practising Sufism. Yet, to practise Sufism, one has to master the basic teachings of Islam such as praying regularly. Without mastering the basic principles of Islamic teachings, one may practise a heretical Sufism.

Although Mbah Gerobag's religious practice was considered as not yet complete, people regarded him as Muslim but *durung ngalim* (not yet knowing about Islam). Mbah Gerobag knew Islam only from the mystical perspective. This is because Javanese were used to the mystical form, which became the dominant aspect of older religious practices.

In addition, Mbah Gerobag also provided a clear picture of the close relation between Islam and Javanese culture. His house was decorated with many *wayang* (shadow puppets). His favourite, he noted, was Semar (a clown believed to be the emanation of God). Mbah Gerobag always

wore black clothes and *blankon*. He had a radio that he always turned to RRI (the radio of Indonesia) Yogyakarta. On Fridays, he turned the radio to RRI which broadcast the Jum'at prayer at the Great Mosque (*Masjid Agung*) belonging to the Yogyakarta *kraton*. He prayed *Jum'atan* with the radio, as the radio broadcast the *Jum'atan* in the *kraton*. He told me:

The *kraton* is the *kiblat* (spiritual direction) for Javanese people. The king is called "Gusti" the same term as Javanese use for God. This is because the king is the emanation of God. The physical conditions of the *kraton* and the king reflect spiritual existence. If these conditions deteriorate, it will influence all situations. Therefore, the *kraton* is the Mecca for Javanese to pursue spiritual wisdom. As the king and his *kraton* are a "miniature" of transcendent existence, they are regarded as "the bridge" for meeting God. Because of the close relation between the king and God, the communication between humans and God will be helped by the spiritual aura of the king.

Every Garebeg celebration, I force myself to go to the *kraton* in order to obtain *berkah* from the celebration. At the Garebeg, the king shows his spiritual aura to the people. The spiritual wisdom of the king can enter ordinary people.

Mbah Gerobag goes to the celebration of Garebeg, as Sufi people go to a gathering in a *tariqa* group to perform a certain religious task. The physical appearance of the king at the celebration is regarded as a mystical appearance that can assist people in practising meditation.

There are some similarities between Mbah Gerobag's behaviour and the practice of Sufism. The way in which Mbah Gerobag describes his personal experience of communicating with God is not a foreign argument to Islamic Sufism. Furthermore, the view that God is immanent in a human being is also not a strange argument in Islam. There are some prominent theories on the union with God. The concept of *ittihad* was originally promoted by Abu Yazid Al-Bustami. *Ittihad* means the union between humans and God so these two identities disappear (Nasution, 1974:84-85). The union with God can also be reached through *al-hulul*. Husein Ibn Mansur Al-Hallaj promoted this *hulul*, which defines union through the entrance of God's soul into humans. As human beings are created, in part, through the entrance of God's soul, there is an aspect of God in humans that facilitates the union with God. The concept of

wahdatul wujud, which is widely followed by Javanese Muslims, centres upon the belief in the existence of God in every creation. According to the concept of *wahdatul wujud*, every creation has two aspects; *al-Khalq*, which represents the existence of creation, and *al-Haqq* which represents the creator. According to Ibn al-'Arabi, who promoted this theory, every creation consists of these two aspects, which are manifested in the existence of *jasad* (*al-khalq*) and *bathin* (*al-Haqq*). As all creations have *al-Haqq*, then there is God's essence in every creation, which facilitates union with God.

In Java, *al hulul* and *wahdatul wujud* are widely practised. This is illustrated by the case of the punishment of Syaikh Siti Jenar, who was accused of having practised a Sufism that violated the basic principle of Islamic teachings by claiming that God and he were the same. The only difference is in the way in which the Javanese position themselves regarding the Javanese king as the representation of God. In Sufism in general, although a Sufi teacher is regarded as a friend of God, he is not regarded as the representation of God. The introduction of the king as a representation of God is a recurrent practice of Sufism in Islam.

3.1.2 Preserving the Ancestor's Inheritance

Before the collapse of the PKI (the Communist Party of Indonesia) in 1965, PKI members dominated the social and political struggle at the village level. In Basin, though this village was for a long time known as an Islamic village, PKI members dominated the village administration. However, when the PKI was defeated by the Army with the support of Muslims and the Indonesian community as a whole, the role of the PKI was tarnished. Some members who escaped the massacre escaped to remote areas to hide from the killing. A lot of these PKI members returned to Islam.

There are various reasons for their conversion to Islam. One motive was, it is said, to save their lives. Some of them became serious Muslims, but others became nominal Muslims who only registered as Muslims without observing Islamic duties (Pranowo, 1993). Observing old Javanese practices, as Koentjaraningrat (1985) and Geertz (1976) observed, is anchored in the rituals of *slametan*. An informant said:

Their important activities are *slametan*. Every important event in their life, such as events relating to the birth of a child or death, is celebrated by *slametan*. Usually, when performing *slametan*, they invite neighbours and ask the *modin* to pray in the Islamic way. Their *slametan* is a concise one. Firstly, there is an address from the householder to say thanks to the neighbours for coming and to state the intention of the *slametan*. Secondly, is the prayer from the *modin* with a little talk about the meaning of the *slametan* in accordance with Islamic teachings. Thirdly, led by the *modin* the *nasi tumpang* is distributed to all the people who come to the *slametan*. A part of that *nasi tumpang* is used as homage and given to the spirits (*roh-roh*) believed to live in sacred (*kramat*) places.

The tradition of nominal Muslims is often described by Muslims as "Islam for birth and death, but *slametan* for other rituals". Rituals for birth, such as *slametan* and name giving, are carried out in accordance with Islamic teachings. In death, apart from burying the dead in an Islamic way, they will conduct *kenduren* by reciting *tahlil* to ease the dead's soul to return to the Creator (God). In other rituals, these people use the old religious practices.

Kim Hyung Jun argued that the reason why these people still employed these old Javanese traditions was because they did not feel *enak* (comfortable) if they did not perform them. As Kim described it, it is like someone who is used to going to the toilet in the river and does not feel comfortable using the toilet at home (Kim, 1996). Another reason why they still perform these practices is because of their cultural familiarity with them. As an informant said to me:

If I want to pray (*salat*) or to recite the Qur'an, it means that I have to learn how to do it. However, if I do it with *slametan*, I already know about it, I do not have to memorise Arabic prayers. In *slametan* the prayers (*do'a*) can be made by individuals. I can recite my own prayer in my *slametan*. For example, in the *miwit*

slametan, the *slametan* for rice harvesting. I only pray "oh Lord give me an abundance of rice". I can do it myself, without inviting the *modin* to assist me to recite Arabic prayers. However, when I perform *slametan* involving other people who are truly Muslims, I have to invite the *modin* to recite prayers for the sake of the welfare of all.

I have performed *slametan* for a long time, I feel comfortable with the practice. When I marry and die, I will ask my family to perform the necessary rituals in the Islamic manner. Right now, my children have already gone to the mosque to learn Islam. My children are living in an Islamic time, thus they have to follow the trend. I hope that my children will embrace Islam in the right way, not like me.

At home, I discuss religious matters with my children. I told them about my beliefs, and they told me about Islam. My children asked me to change some of my beliefs. In *slametan*, for example, they asked me to conduct the *slametan* in the mosque not in other places previously believed to be sacred. The mosque, my children argue, is a more convenient place. I agreed with the suggestion for all my children have gone to the mosque.

It seems that familiarity with tradition has propelled nominal Muslims to preserve their old practices. Social experience of a given culture provides a ground for individuals to be close to their discourse. Kim found that Muslims in Yogyakarta who performed the old Javanese practices were not motivated by any claim that the *slametan* is a better ritual than Islamic rituals. The reason behind their choice was a practical one, feeling *enak*. In addition, they performed *slametan* because it was normal and could fit in with their beliefs "*sudah biasa dan cocok*".

Quoting Mannheim, Eickelman used his concept of a "generation location", which means that individuals are situated in a certain time framework that forces them to act in accordance with the general trend of that time (Eickelman, 1977). Eickelman provided an example of the maraboutic culture which dominated the religious, social and political scene in Moroccan history. When the *marabout* played a major role in Morocco, individuals tended to embrace the discourse produced by the *marabouts* (Eickelman, 1977). The mystical characteristic of religious life during that period was created largely by the dominant existence of *marabouts* who practised Sufism. Similarly, a different social environment will influence religious choice. This is clear from the example of the father

cited above who still insisted on the practice of *slametan*, but allowed his children to follow the new religious trend.

3.2 Religious Practices of Traditional Islam

Traditional Islam maintains that its ultimate aim is to preserve the teachings of previous and current *ulama* who have devoted their lives to religious improvement. Dhofier argued that the rejection of traditional Islam in opening the gate of *ijtihad* (religious reasoning) as launched by modernist Islam, is that traditional Islam does not want to cut its ties with the works of previous *ulama*. The *ijtihad* has to be done through first mastering their great Islamic inheritances. In addition to this view, in Java traditional Muslims also maintain that they are the people who preserve the teachings of the *wali*.

In religious practices, traditional Islam is based more on "spiritual elements" of religious practices. Traditional Islam concentrates less on the form of religious practices, focusing on the essence and content of the practices. In Java, religious practices of traditional Islam are closely linked to the existence of *ulama* and *wali*.

3.2.1 *Slametan*

In Klaten, there are two kinds of *slametan*: personal *slametan* held by a household or individual, and public *slametan* held by a village or a sub-village. The personal *slametan* is held because of personal factors such as death, birth or for other personal events. This kind of *slametan* is personal because of the manner of its arrangement and the fact that its cost is borne by a household or individual. Although this personal *slametan* also involves members of the wider community, its arrangement and any reward for the *slametan* is returned to the household or individual. Therefore, the community comes to the *slametan* only by invitation.

In performing *slametan* on the fifth day after a child's birth, for example, people in Klaten sometimes make it a big event. Not only do they conduct *kondangan*, but they also have a special celebration. People in Klaten may call this *ewuh-ewuh* (literally meaning a busy thing). *Ewuh-ewuh* is a party or celebration which involves inviting people to a feast. In doing so, the household prepares special food and drink, and the guests come to the party bringing money, rice or other things. This activity is called *nyumbang* (to donate). Philosophically, the intention of *nyumbang* is to help the household to meet the cost of the celebration. In the old days, the funding necessary to perform the celebration was very expensive. Therefore, relatives and neighbours attempted to help. From the household point of view, the *sumbangan* (donation) really means to help. However, now this principle has disappeared. One performs *slametan* by *ewuh-ewuh* to gain financial advantage. Some people use it as a method of making a profit.

The communal *slametan*, the *slametan* held by a group of people or by all the people in a village, is conducted in accordance with a public occurrence or public event that is observed as a communal event. In Basin, for example, before Muhammadiyah came to the region, communal celebrations such as the birth of the Prophet Muhammad (*muludan*), the 21st night of Ramadhan (*selikuran*), and *sadranan* (commencing Ramadhan), were regarded as big events which people celebrated with communal *slametan*. In performing these *slametan*, people just threw rice and food into the river without eating it even though they were, in fact, quite poor. It is ironic that poor people should throw away their food instead of eating it. Some people perform these communal *slametan* because of a feeling of shame (*pekewuh*). Others, however, will justify their extravagance by saying that it will be refunded when they live in

paradise. On the basis of this wasting of food, modernist Muslims reject such communal *slametan*.

The importance of communal *slametan*, according to those who support the practice, is to express the communal identity of the village. Further, it shows the feeling of *rukun* (communal harmony). However, the most important meaning of *slametan* is to show the religious feeling of the people. For most villagers, the act of *slametan* is not only regarded as an act of social cohesion among them, but also shows the similarities of belief and religious emotion. Therefore, for the individual, the *slametan* is an indication of their involvement in social practices as well as in religious practices. The former is important to enable the individual to be helped and considered by other villagers as a member of the village. If there is a social calamity or an individual calamity, the society will share with the victim, just as the victim shares in the public *slametan*. Observed from the religious point of view, the *slametan* is important because a person, by being included in the communal *slametan*, will be helped when in need of religious services such as for birth, death and so forth.

3.2.2 *Pengajian Akbar*

As the *kyai* and their *pesantren* have become centres for traditional Islam, the celebration, ceremonies and teachings of religion have also focused on these institutions. As central religious figures, *kyai* are aware of their position. Therefore, the *kyai* in a *pesantren* often conducts public sermons (*pengajian akbar*), usually related to the days of celebrating important events in the Islamic calendar such as the birth of Muhammad, the journey of Muhammad to God, the new year of *Hijrah* and so on. However, the most important performance for the *kyai* and his *pesantren* is the celebration of *kaul* (*khal* or *kol* or *khaul*), which is a commemoration of the death of a great *kyai*, usually the founder of the *pesantren*, marked by a public sermon and public *dhikr*.

In Klaten there is a famous *kyai* who is regarded as a *wali*. He is visited by ordinary people as well as public figures. The most common reason to visit "Mbah Muslim" is to ask for *pengestu* (blessing) from him. Since he is a *wali*, he can deliver prayers to Allah. Every Thursday night people from all over Klaten come to his place to recite *tahlil* and *dhikr* together. Once a month he delivers a public *pengajian* which is attended by many people from Klaten and surrounding areas.

Mbah Muslim is an ordinary man with a special knowledge of religion. He practises Sufism. In a traditional Islamic organisation, such as NU, he is an important figure. Wherever the congress of NU is held, people surround him asking his opinion about serious matters of organisation. Mbah Muslim is regarded as among the highest ranked of the *wali* in Java. In terms of *tariqa*, one is ranked according to one's *maqam* (a status within the *tariqa*). For ordinary people, the rank is observed from *baraka* innate in the *kyai*. Mbah Muslim has been regarded as having considerable *baraka*.

Pengajian is a public lecture designed as a forum for listening to a sermon of religious teachings. *Pengajian akbar* consists of two words. *Pengajian* is a Javanese word derived from *ngaji*, meaning to recite, whereas *akbar* is an Arabic word meaning great or large. Therefore, a *pengajian akbar* is a forum for religious teachings. It is an important occasion for people, as the *pengajian* not only gives them further knowledge of Islam, but also provides them with a blessing (*baraka*). In Islam, studying either religious knowledge or secular knowledge is regarded as a pious act (*ibadah*) which will be rewarded by Allah in the hereafter. In addition, people argue that the importance of *pengajian* derives not only from the blessing that comes from the *ibadah* of study, but also from the *pengajian* itself, meaning that the charisma of the *kyai* and his pious deeds affect the forum. Therefore, whoever comes to the

forum automatically gains *baraka*. This makes a *pengajian akbar* of the *kyai* a special forum for religious teachings. People who believe in this *baraka* consider the forum or the place where it is held as an important factor in deciding whether to attend the *pengajian*.

3.2.3 Ziarah

For the Javanese, *ziarah* has a special meaning, not only religiously but also socially and politically. People often visit graveyards to pay honour and show regard to family members who have died. Paying honour to a person, according to the Javanese, should not stop when the person dies, but should continue forever. There are special times for visiting the graveyard, for example, a week before the commencement of *Ramadhan*, at the time of *Sadranan*. At this time, people go to the graveyard to clean the tomb of grass and dirt. After that, together with some people in the graveyard area, they perform *slametan* by bringing fruits.

Other times for visiting a tomb is on Fridays, after Friday prayers at the mosque. Here people recite prayers as well as reciting the Qur'an. People believe that Friday is a special day in Islam. Therefore, it is also a special day for asking forgiveness from God for the dead. In Javanese tradition, Friday also has a special place. It is regarded as a sacred as well as a frightening time. People meditate, looking for *baraka* on Friday. However, Friday is also considered a fearful day (*keramat*), since there are a lot of demons who come out to disturb people praying or meditating.

People also go to graveyards on the day of *Idul Fitri*, the celebration of the end of the fasting month, *Ramadhan*. Just as they visit parents, family and friends, they also perform *ziarah* at graveyards on *lebaran* to ask forgiveness and pray (*donga*) for the dead.

In addition to this *ziarah* to family graves, there is a *ziarah* that has a special place, that is *ziarah* to the tombs of pious people such as *wali* or

kyai or noble people. In addition to paying a tribute of honour to the dead, *ziarah* at the tomb of a *wali* or *kyai* offers an opportunity to ask for *baraka* from the dead. People believe that *wali* and *kyai* are beloved by God for their pious acts during their life. These pious people have a special place before God. Therefore, through their mediation, people can ask *baraka* from God.

Sunan Tembayad, a *wali* who was known as a preacher of Islam in the southern region of Central Java, is regarded as a *pundhen* (first ancestor). His name, Sunan Tembayad, was bestowed on him for his relationship with the region. His tomb, which is located on the hill of Karang Kembang Paseban Bayat, is visited by many people. In addition to asking for *baraka*, Bayat people dedicate their visits to Sunan Tembayad's graveyard to show the continuous link between them and the *pundhen*. Some Bayat people who have migrated to other regions make special visits yearly to Sunan Tembayad's tomb.²⁰

People who believe in traditional Islam, besides visiting the tomb of a *wali* or a *kyai*, also visit their leaders or *kyai* who are still alive. They do this to prolong and continue the relationships they have built previously. Pious people are sources of *baraka* during life or after death. Ordinary people know that they have limited religious knowledge compared to the *kyai*. Therefore, visiting the *kyai* is an effort to obtain *baraka*.

²⁰ According to Bayat people, the best time to visit Sunan Tembayad's tomb is during the time of *sadranan*, that is a week before *Ramadhan*. There are three big festivals during *sadranan*: firstly, the *slametan* of *sadranan* itself, a public *slametan* involving food and fruit brought to the graveyard to be eaten together; secondly, the ceremony of *Kaul Akbar* (the commemoration of the death of Sunan Tembayad), traditional dances are performed and a public *pengajian* (religious sermon) is held; thirdly, following these two events, when the *singep* (cloth used to wrap Sunan Tembayad's tomb) is changed. The *Pasang Singep* ceremony is the most visited as people regard it as the most important time for *ziarah* to Sunan Tembayad. The old cloth (*singep*) is then cut into handkerchief shapes and distributed to visitors—sometimes people have to pay a certain amount of money for this.

3.3 Religious Practices of Modernist Islam

Modernist Islam stresses the social aspect of Islamic teachings. It also uses a more "rational approach" to the management of religious practices. Moreover, its activities centre heavily upon the teamwork of members in the context of a solid organisation. Unlike traditionalist Islam which centres its practice on *ulama* and *kyai* and their institutions such as *pesantren* and mosques, modernist Islam focuses more on the work of the organisational system.

3.3.1 *Pengajian Yasinan*

To enlighten religious understandings of villagers, Muhammadiyah established various religious forums to provide lectures on Islamic teachings. These forums not only provide more opportunities to deepen religious knowledge, but also provide a social public sphere to express villagers' religiosity. Modernists in Basin set up the forums in a *pengajian* (religious gathering) format in various levels and groups. For example, for public *pengajian*, modernists established *Pengajian Purnomo Sidi* (*pengajian* of the full moon), which is held every fifteenth day of the Islamic lunar calendar. Furthermore, there was also a *pengajian* for the youths to discuss current issues on Islam. For children, *pesta kebun* (garden party), held as excursions to introduce them to the beauties of nature, have been successful.

One of the many interesting religious activities in Basin was the popularity of women's *pengajian* held by the members of 'Aisyiyah (Women organisation of Muhammadiyah)²¹, which is conducted every Friday night. The *pengajian* is known as *Yasinan*, because its main theme is

²¹ The name 'Aisyiyah is taken from the name of the Prophet's wife, 'Aisyah, who was regarded as a perfect example of a Muslim woman. The word 'Aisyiyah means the followers of

reading the chapter Yaa Siin (chapter 36 of the Qur'an). Some of the women can read Yaa Siin, but some others cannot and just recite memorised short phrases of *dhikr*. Women from four hamlets of Basin village—Basin, Nglarang, Kebonarum and Sambeng—enthusiastically attend the *pengajian*. The location of the *pengajian* rotates from one mosque to another. There are eleven mosques in Basin, eight in Basin hamlet and one each in Nglarang, Kebonarum and Sambeng hamlet.

After reciting chapter Yaa Siin for approximately half an hour, the women listen to a religious lecture (*ceramah agama*), by a religious teacher or by one of the women themselves. The main themes of the religious lecture (*pengajian*) in the *Yasinan* concern the importance of education for children in order to improve their quality of life. The success of some of their *Yasinan* leaders in becoming public servants is an example of the usefulness of education in improving the standard of women's lives. In addition, the lecturer also talks about the role of women in the modern environment. For example, a lecture given by their *Yasinan* leader stressed the increasing role of women in modern life. She said:

Actually, from the old days women in the village have been involved in careers. For example, some of us here are *tempe* (soy meal) traders, or are involved in other trading in the market. Right now, our village chief is a woman, who is here with us today. If we lived in a big city, maybe we would have been called career women (*wanita karir*), but because we live in a small village no one has labelled us as such.

However, despite our involvement in our careers, we ought not to neglect our role as mothers in our family. Our Prophet Muhammad said that the one who has the right to be given respect is the mother. The Prophet even repeated this three times, then after that the father. Therefore, we have to remember that our duty as mother is to educate children with attention, love and care.

For women who do not work, do not feel inferior as a mother. This is because the role of mother is highly valued by Islam. We often hear that the mother's struggle during labour is called *jihad fi sabilillah* (a struggle in the path of Allah). If a mother dies during labour, she is a martyr (*syuhada*) who is guaranteed to have a place in paradise. It is evidence that as a mother, a woman is highly respected by Allah. The praise from Allah is the highest praise for Muslims.

'Aisyah. Muhammadiyah, taken from the Prophet's name Muhammad, means the followers of Muhammad.

When the lecturer finished, the women performed a prayer together with a woman as an *imam* of the *sholat*. As there were no men attending the prayer, these women could conduct the prayer with a woman as the *imam*. After the prayer, as part of the entertainment to attract more women to the *pengajian*, *arisan*, a kind of saving game, was conducted. With a simple donation of Rp. 500 (equivalent to ten cents Australian), they conducted the *arisan*. Because the number of members who attend the *pengajian* can reach 50 to 100, the total sum of the donation could reach a considerable amount. This is because some women, probably most of them, give more than one *iuran* (donation). In each *pengajian*, two winners are decided by picking their names from a glass containing all the names of those present. Five per cent of the donation (*iuran*) is kept to be used for alms when, for example, one of the members experiences a serious illness or death.

The social cohesion of these women in organising the *Yasinan* helped spread Islam in the village. Rotating the place of *pengajian* from one mosque to another provided mobility to inform people about Islam. The women who reside near a certain mosque, who are also known as the members of *jama'ah* (group), become the organisers when the *pengajian* rotates to their mosque. Each mosque is used for *pengajian* three times in succession. At the third *pengajian*, as a sign of the last *Yasinan* at that mosque, a *syukuran* is conducted by giving *nasi penakan* (rice with its ingredients placed in banana leaves) donated by the *jama'ah* of that mosque. A woman described the *penakan* as follows:

The idea of giving *penakan* in the *pengajian* is to attract sympathy from the women. The *slametan* is also a way of showing the happiness of the women living around the mosque that their mosque is being used for the *pengajian*. It is done in a simple way of *slametan*. If the *jama'ah* can not provide *penakan*, it does not matter. The most important thing is that they attend the *pengajian*.

The friendship and sisterhood among the women of *pengajian* can be seen when one of their members has serious illness or one of their family members has died. Usually after the *pengajian*, they go together to their unfortunate member to give support and encouragement. As a symbol of care and attention, the money

deducted from the *arisan* is donated. The visit has meaning as appreciation and attention from the group to the individual's problem, which then strengthens their relationship.

In dealing with death, women are actively involved in taking care of the corpse. In Basin, when there is news that a villager has passed away, it will be announced through the loud speaker at the mosque. Some people can immediately recognise when there is an announcement in the middle of the night, that it must be death news or, rarely, a reminder from the nightwatchmen (*ronda*) that a suspicious person has entered the village. Many women go to prepare and organise the corpse to be bathed and clothed ready for prayers and burial.

In addition to this *pengajian*, on Sunday nights, some women who have been chosen as the organisers of 'Aisiyyah, hold a weekly meeting at one of their houses. The meeting also rotates from the house of one organiser to another. The meetings are held to discuss programs, especially to improve the quality of the *Yasinan* and the kindergarten owned by the 'Aisiyyah organisation. They are used as a forum to listen to women's proposals and observations about the real problems facing women in the village. The establishment of a kindergarten was a result of these women's observation that there was an increasing need to provide a good quality kindergarten for their children.

The meetings are conducted in a unique way. Unlike *pengajian*, they begin by singing the anthem of 'Aisiyyah as quoted at the beginning of this chapter. After that, the leader of 'Aisiyyah opens the meeting by asking the members to recite together "*Bismillahirrahmanirrahim*—in the name of Allah the bountiful and merciful". One of the members of 'Aisiyyah described the meetings as follows:

The 'Aisiyyah meeting is rotated from one organiser's house to another. All organisers will have their chance to host the meeting. The meeting is organised in a simple way, meaning that there is no food involved. The primary concern of the meeting is to listen to reports about programs run by the 'Aisiyyah. The meeting also considers some proposals from the members. The meeting is opened by singing the anthem of 'Aisiyyah to remind the women about their sacred duty to improve the quality of religiosity and the quality of the state. Then, the leader of the meeting begins by saying "*Bismillah* together". For about 10 minutes, the husband or the son or the daughter of the house gives a religious talk. After this the core session of the meeting begins. Sometimes the meeting ends late at night as the discussion develops into a serious debate.

Meetings like that function as a control for the members of 'Aisiyiyah. For example, through the meeting 'Aisiyiyah can monitor that there are some members who need assistance from the organisation. Moreover, the meeting functions as a control of religious observance. In other words, because the meeting is actively held, then it urges women to go the *pengajian* more routinely.

Almost half of the members were public servants—teachers and officers—who then became initiators and mentors for other members. A few years ago, in a meeting a woman proposed to have an informal school for members to learn how to read and write Latin characters. "I would like to read my children's school reports"; she provided a reason for her proposal. Therefore, these public servant women established an informal school for illiterate women in the village. This informal school was successful in reducing illiteracy in the village. A lot of women and even men attended the school. With the help of the village office (*kelurahan desa*), the school was then declared a government project.

The role of 'Aisiyiyah in developing Muhammadiyah and implementing its ideas cannot be neglected. Without the work of 'Aisiyiyah in maximising the capability of women in sponsoring modernist practices, Muhammadiyah in Basin would not have a major influence. The social cohesion and solidarity built by the *Yasinan* became a primary tool in sustaining the existence of Muhammadiyah. Through this women's organisation ideas of religious reformation were deeply embraced.

3.3.2 *Syukuran*

Syukuran is an Indonesian word derived from the Arabic "*syukur*", meaning to give thanks. The word *syukuran* is used to denote a ceremony or gathering to express happiness and thanks to God, and is used by modernists to replace *slametan* rituals which have other religious connotations. The concept of *syukuran* is intended to give people the impression that the rituals held in *slametan* are a mundane matter.

Syukuran is not a religious obligation. In fact it is a social ceremony to express gratitude and thanks for one's happiness.

The use of the concept of *syukuran* therefore has several important implications. Firstly, it denotes the demise of the sacred aspect within the *slametan*. Some people regard *slametan* as a religious obligation to be carried out by Muslims. Its performance is the same as other religious obligations which will be rewarded by God on the day of judgment. Secondly, the concept of *syukuran* changes the status of the ceremony from an obligatory to a voluntary act, meaning that there is no religious sanction on those who do not perform *slametan*. Thirdly, the concept of *syukuran* also turns the *slametan* ceremony from a religious activity into a worldly activity.

Syukuran, however, is criticised because it diminishes the value of religiosity in the practice of *slametan*. In other words, *syukuran* has lost religious significance for people's special moments such as birth and death. People from Javanised Islam and traditional Islam gave comments like this:

Is it wrong to conduct *slametan* coloured with religious elements? The intention of our elders is to add religious elements to every human action so that all activities are related to God's presence. Therefore, if the *slametan* is coloured by Islam it is to teach Javanese not to add other religious elements to the *slametan*. Yet the *slametan* is a good means of spreading Islam. If the young generation want to abolish the *slametan*, it means that they are abandoning the great treasure of Islam in Java.²²

From such comments we can see that the *slametan* is an Islamic activity which originally derives from Javanese traditions. Furthermore, the Javanese argue that the practice was invented by their forebears to

²² *Salahe apa nganakake slametan sing diwenehi bumbu kaagamaan. Karape mbah-mbah ndisik kuwi lak menehi nasa kaagamaan kanggone tingkah laku menungso sak kabahe, supaya kegiatane ora lepas karo karsaneng Gusti Allah. Dadi nek slametan kuwi diwenehi bumbu-bumbu kaagamaan Islam, supaya wong Jawa ora pada menehi bumbu-bumbu agama liyane. Idep-idep slametan kuwi nyebarake Islam*

mark an accommodation toward Javanese tradition. The *slametan* is thus a means of spreading Islam to the Javanese people through their own traditions.

However, modernist Islam argues that it is only one of many ways used by earlier Muslims to spread Islam in Java. Modernists are more interested in arguing that since the *slametan* has become religious, more people have forgotten its real function and meaning. Nowadays, people understand *slametan* as an Islamic obligation which has to be carried out by all people regardless of their economic status. Therefore, modernists argue, many people ask for loans from the rich just to perform a *slametan*. After this, many people cannot pay their debts and their land and house must be sold in order to settle their debt. The modernists finally say that people can perform *slametan*, of course, but they should not claim it as a religious obligation.

The core differences between these two approaches is how they view the *slametan*: as a religious obligation or not. For traditional Islam, the *slametan* is a social and religious activity which has its reward on the day of judgment. Traditionalists argue that every good activity is *ibadah* (a pious activity), which will be rewarded by Allah. The *slametan* is *ibadah* in the sense that the activities involved in the ceremony, such as reciting *tahlil* and the Qur'an, are parts of *ibadah*. There is no bad activity in the *slametan* ceremony.

Nevertheless, for modernists, although accepting that *slametan* activities derive from *ibadah*, they do not consider it good when people feel forced (*terpaksa*) to do them. For example, when one moves house, and does not carry out a *slametan*, people will say the process is not complete. Without a *slametan* the house will not be secure and evil things

karono tradisi Jawa. Nek saiki wong-wong enom podo arep ngilangi slametan, opo kuwi ora podo karo ngilangi kekayaane Islam ing Tanah Jawa.

will reside in the house. If the person has money for a *slametan*, it does not matter. However, if a person does not have enough money for a *slametan*, can he/she manage? Modernists argue that the original function of the *slametan* for moving house was to inform neighbours of the arrival of a new resident. However, if this is the basic function of *slametan*, one can use other means which suit one's situation.

3.3.3 Religious Training and *Pengajian Keliling*

For traditional Islam, although all places can be used for the teaching of Islam, there are special places for religious study. Traditional Islam regards the mosque, the *pesantren*, and the *kyai's* house as the best places. Traditionalists consider these three places have special meaning since they are what Islamic education relies on. For modernists, however, the places for performing prayer (*shalat*) and preaching (*dakwah* or *pengajian*) are not limited to the mosque or *pesantren* or the house of the *kyai*. All places can be used for religious study.

This debate about place is also related to the concept of the legitimate leader who can provide religious teachings. In the eyes of traditional Islam, this service can only be provided by an authoritative person, a person who has knowledge and has mastered it. The only person who can meet this requirement is a *kyai*. Because of the fact that the *kyai* usually owns a *pesantren* and lives close to the mosque, these two places have an important meaning within the traditional community. By contrast, modernists allow all people to provide religious teachings, although they may know only a little about religion. Modernists argue that the Prophet said: "Give to the people anything from me, although you know from me only a verse". This *hadith* is used by modernists to legitimate allowing all people to provide religious service.

Therefore, modernists usually hold a *pengajian* in a public place or in people's houses. The teacher of the *pengajian* can come from people of

different academic backgrounds. They argue that since Islam does not differentiate or separate between the religious realm and worldly realm, whatever the topic delivered in the *pengajian*, it is Islam. Therefore, in a *pengajian keliling* (moving *pengajian*, meaning a *pengajian* that moves from house to house) modernists may talk about agriculture, education or economic strategies in the market. Modernists argue that Muslims should also have such knowledge in order to improve their life. If religious teachings bring humans to spiritual happiness, secular knowledge leads them to happiness in this life.

In addition, the modernists' appeal to use ordinary houses to conduct *pengajian* is supported by their intention to make all houses places for study. It also informs people that such study is not limited only to the mosque and *pesantren*, or to a special teacher such as a *kyai*. The *pengajian keliling* is designed to give the impression that to spread religion and study is everybody's duty. It is not only the *kyai*, his family and *santri* (students) who can study religion; all Muslims have to study and then teach other people who do not know Islam yet.

The *pengajian keliling* thus challenges the existence of the mosque and *pesantren* as the only places for the study of religion. The most crucial criticism of the *pengajian keliling* is to challenge the authoritative role of the *kyai* in teaching religion. A young modernist Muslim who is very active in initiating *pengajian keliling* said:

This is the time now for Muslim leaders to get close to the community. This is not the time any more to wait for the community to come to the *pesantren*. The problems faced by the community have dramatically increased. Before, *kyai* and *modin* (religious officers) did not have to leave the *pesantren*; the community had to go to them. However, now *kyai* have to go to the community. Therefore, *pengajian keliling* is an important activity to know the people's interests. The *pengajian* has to accord with these interests. Moreover, *pengajian keliling* is held in people's houses

to impress them that religious teachings should meet with the needs of the community.²³

3.3.4 Social and Economic Activities

Because of the fact that modernists are more concerned with the reality of Muslims in their everyday lives, those who may still be poor and backward, they design activities based on religious doctrine to improve their lives (Tim Pembina Al-Islam, 1990). Modernists argue that *zakat*, sacrifice, and *sadakah* are sources that can be used to improve the lives of Muslims, especially the needy. According to modernist views there are several ways to improve the management as well as the distribution of *zakat*, sacrifice and *sadakah*. If previously their distribution was mainly organised by a *kyai* or religious leader in a village, it should be managed by an organisation established by the people. People should collect it, organise, and then distribute *zakat* to people who are in need. In the Islamic teaching regarding *zakat*, there is a concept of the *amil*, literally meaning the person who collects the *zakat*. Modernists argue that the existence of the *amil* is taken as a basis for establishing an organisation to manage *zakat*.

The *zakat* is one of the five pillars in Islam, and is obligatory for Muslims who are wealthy. Wealthy Muslims have to pay the annual *zakat* as purification (*tazkiyah*) from their wealth. The *zakat* is also a concern for the poor and the needy. The Qur'an commands Muslims to distribute the

²³ Saiki wektune kanggone pemimpin umat Islam kabeh kudu turun menyang masyarakat. Saiki utwis duadu wektune pemimpin mung tenguk-tenguk ono ing pesantren karo nunggu masyarakat teko. Permasalahan sing diarepi karo masyarakat terus tambah akeh. Ndisik para kyai lan modin ora perlu lunga soko ngomah masyarakat sawis pada teka. Sebabe ndisik kuwi kyai dadi tumpuan masyarakat kanggo kabeh masalah. Ndisik ngobateke cah cilik loro panas ngono mesti menyang kyai. Saiki wis ono mantri kesehatan sing luwih ngerti carane ngobati penyakit. Mulo pengajian keliling kuwi sak jane kanggo ngertine kepengine masyarakat kuwi apa, lha banjur dibantu. Pengajian keliling, sing dieneke mubeng gantian neng omah, kuwi penting kanggo menehi kesan yen agama kuwi kudu cerak karo masyarakat kabeh.

zakat to seven groups.²⁴ Conventionally, the *zakat* was distributed to these groups as it is. Modernists argue, however, that the *zakat* should be utilised as productive capital, meaning that the people can use the money for business capital.

Modernists strongly support this new way of distributing *zakat* because they believe that the money given to the poor at the end of *Ramadhan* does not solve their problems. It only solves the problem for one or two days, but after that the poor will suffer again. However, if the poor can use the money as capital for a business, there are other possibilities. Firstly, the person may be successful. Secondly, if the person fails, it does not matter, because the money he used is actually his/her own and not borrowed.

Modernists are also interested in education and publications as well as in providing social services for people, such as schools, hospitals, clinics and orphanages (Tim Pembina Al-Islam, 1990). From the works done by modernists, it seems that modernists want to improve the conditions of Muslim life in this world. This is because they believe that religion cannot be properly carried out before the problems of everyday life are solved. Modernists stress more the social dimension of Islamic teachings.

3.3.5 *Turba (Turun ke Bawah, going to villages) Dakwah bil Hal*

The transformation that is occurring in the concept and practice of *dakwah* indicates how the reworking of basic Islamic concepts involves not only religious elites and intellectuals but also the masses. Change is initiated from the pinnacle of society, as it were, but also from the base.

²⁴ "Alms are for the poor [1] and the needy [2] and those employed to administer the funds [3] and for those whose hearts have been (recently) reconciled (to truth) [4] and for those in bondage and in debt [5], and in the cause of Allah [5] and for the wayfarer [6] and (thus is it) ordained by Allah [7]. And Allah is full of knowledge and wisdom" (9:60).

Dakwah, mentioned in the Qur'an many times, is a call to human society to find in Islam the true religion. Modernists refer to the verse (16:125)²⁵ as the guidance for Muslims in dealing with *dakwah* and the verse (3:104)²⁶ as the necessity for Muslims to perform *dakwah*. The term has developed over centuries into an explicit ideology of proselytism which can be grouped into two forms; *dakwah bil lisan* (call to Islam using words and written arguments), and *dakwah bil hal* (call to Islam with social actions). The idea of *dakwah bil hal* is a *dakwah* that gives much more attention to solving the problems that directly affect people. For example, if people face health problems, *dakwah* should directly address this matter.

Modernists argue that *dakwah* by word of mouth, such as preaching, will not contribute much to solving people's problems. It is true that people need *dakwah bil lisan* to water their soul, especially those in stress and in difficulty. However, this *dakwah* should be complemented by *dakwah bil hal* to solve their real problems.

In order to get information on these issues, *kyai* have to go down to the people's level and see their real problems. This is called *turba* (*turun ke bawah*) to go down to the people to learn, for example, about the problems of poverty, health and illiteracy that are faced by people in a certain place. Religious practice can not be improved if their problems are not solved. If people are in good health, have something to eat, and know how to read and understand, then they can perform their religious duties more easily.

4. Concluding Remarks

To sum up, from these descriptions of Javanised Islam, traditional and modernist activities, we can see that they have their own ways of

²⁵ "Invite (all) to the way of thy Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching; and argue with them in ways that are best" (16:125).

²⁶ "Let there arise out of you a band of people inviting to all that is good, enjoining what is

expressing religiosity. For traditionalists the perfection of religious life is to orient to the *kyai* and *pesantren*, whereas modernists see that perfection lies in everyday life. The obligation to preach and spread Islam is not limited to the *kyai*, but to all Muslims. In measuring the perfection of Muslim-ness, traditional Islam sees it more in terms of religious practices. According to traditionalists when one carries out all religious duties well, it will result in a good life. This is because the ultimate goal of religious teachings is to make people safe and happy in their life.

This discussion reflects on the discourse about the perfection of being a Muslim. In addition, the discussion signifies the way people understand and place Islam within the local context, and construct a scope that can be accepted by all people. Although it is true to say that these three opinions are in conflict if we look further at the discourse by Muslims on their religion, it seems that they differ in the articulation of faith. They also differ in the way one should articulate religion in everyday life.

Another implication of this discussion concerns the domain of religiosity. For the traditionalist the domain of religious activity is not separated from worldly activities. Therefore, anything that could be filled with a religious aspect means it is a religious activity. This can be seen from the reasons a traditionalist uses to accept and defend the *slametan* ceremony. The *slametan* that is usually conducted to mark individual events of the life cycle, such as birth and death, is a mundane activity which can have religious meaning since all activities performed by humans are religious. For modernists, however, the *slametan* should be seen as a mundane activity. If there is a religious aspect in the practice, then it is only a small aspect of religion which could be replaced by another activity that would earn much more of a reward than a *slametan*.

right and forbidding what is wrong; they are the ones to attain felicity" (3:104).

Javanised Islam, on the other hand, expresses its concern about individual freedom of expression in practising religion. The ultimate goal of religion should reflect personal spiritual experience. The followers of Javanised Islam, in some ways similar to traditionalist Islam, emphasise more the content rather than the form of rituals. Javanised Islam pays less attention to the formal legal aspect of religious practice. It is more concerned with the ultimate result of practice.

In relation to the existence of Islam in Java, these three groups differ in expressing the ideal of being a Javanese Muslim. The Javanese tendency holds that people in a certain region should be given a wide range of expression to show their attachment to Islam. Being Muslim in a certain locality need not be the same as being a person who is a stranger to one's own culture. In other words, Javanese should be allowed free expression to practise their Islam in accord with their place and culture. In keeping with this line of argument, the traditionalist view is that Islam is not static; it flows through history. There has been much development in Islam ranging from its philosophy, to its laws and practices. The development should not be understood as a deviation from Islam, but as proof that Islam can move with history. Without understanding the long journey of Islam within human history, one cannot truly understand the meaning of Islam. For the modernist, the readiness of Javanese to become Muslims should be understood as their readiness to absorb other cultures into their life, without being alienated from their original identity. It is true that understanding the history of Islam is important. However, the perception of history should be used as a reflection of a future life, one step back to jump a hundred steps forward.

For Javanese, or those whom I referred to as Javanised Muslims, the relation between a human being and God is something that can be very personal. Every person can communicate with God in his or her own way

and by his or her own means. This is because the spiritual experience of God cannot be conveyed to other people. The feeling of this relation cannot be described in words. A person has to discover for himself the ways and means to meet God. If one imitates another person's ways and means, there are two possibilities: first, one could manage to communicate with God, but the meeting would not be as perfect as it might have been; second, one may not meet with God. Any training to imitate another person's ways and means has to be understood as a training to find one's own. In line with Javanised Islam, the modernists also believe that communication with God has to be done personally. There is no need of a medium to meet with God, as God is near to every human being. Different from these two groups, the traditionalists maintain that humans need a medium to communicate with God. The importance of this medium (*wasilah*) is to ensure that the communication with God is attained.



Takbir competition at the eve of Idul Fitri



Takbir competition at the eve of Idul Fitri



Takbir competition at the eve of Idul Fitri



Praying Idul Fitri at a soccer field



Returning from attending morning religious lecture (*kuliah subuh*)



Going to *Pengajian Akbar*



Muhammadiyah School in Basin



Going to evening religious school (*sekolah agama sore*)



Religious camping



Resting after a tired night of religious camping



Basin during the campaign for the 1999 National Election



Campaigning with Parties' flags

Chapter IV

Changing Patterns in Religious Orientation

Five exercises provide medication for the soul's ailments
First, reciting the Qur'an with an understanding of its meanings
Second, praying in the middle of the night
Third, being close to pious people
Fourth, fasting
Fifth, reciting a long dzikir at night
Those who can perform one of these exercises
May God bless and answer their requests.¹

1. Introduction

"In my childhood, people sang *pujian* (songs) in the mosque and *langgar* (small mosque) before performing the five daily prayers. However, nowadays no one sings the *pujian* any more." Mbah Karto, 70 years old, said that to me when we sang such *pujian* together in the *Laras Madya* orchestra. *Pujian* literally means praise. It is used by Muslims in Klaten to refer to songs containing religious teachings that are sung in the mosque. In practice, *pujian* signifies both the songs and the practice of singing the songs in the mosque. Previously, Mbah Karto recalled that *pujian* was sung in the mosque after *azan* (the call to prayer). The idea of *pujian* is to fill the time while waiting for other people to arrive for congregational (*jama'ah*) prayer. As the verses of the songs are taken from Islamic teachings, it is also a means of educating people. The *pujian* is not

¹ Tamba ati iku lima perkarane. Kaping pisan maca Qur'an sak maknane. Kaping pindho salat wengi lakonane. Kaping telu wang kang saleh kumpulane. Kaping papat wetengira ingkang luwe. Kaping lima dzikir wengi ingkang suwe. Salah sawijine sapa bisa anggakani. Insya Allah Gusti Pangeran ngijabahi.

sung at the mosque any more, since Muhammadiyah forbids it. As a replacement, people sing *pujian* in the *Laras Madya* orchestra.²

Pujian is considered a pious act (*ibadah*) which will be rewarded by God, hence people consider it an activity that should be done before praying. Often *pujian* is sung loudly using a loudspeaker. After ten or fifteen minutes singing *pujian*, the prayer is begun. These two things, using the loudspeaker and delaying the prayer time, prompt modernists to reject *pujian* in the mosque. Although it is true that *pujian* is *ibadah* since it can be used as a means of spreading religious teachings, it is not an obligation that has to be done before praying. *Pujian* has to be understood as a means to pass the time while waiting for people to come to the mosque for *jama'ah* prayer. If so, then, modernists argue, people can use other means such as reciting the Qur'an while waiting, which is a better activity than singing *pujian*. For modernists, however, the best thing to do is to perform prayers punctually. The *pujian*, modernists argue, makes people delay their appearance at the mosque.

Mbah Karto's recollection of *pujian* demonstrates the changes in the way people view religious practices. Basin can be taken as an example to show the nature of people's conversion from one religious orientation to another. This is because people in Basin have experienced changes in religious practice as well as in their attachment to certain religious orientations. Observing the way religious practices have changed, it seems that these changes have occurred in three periods: firstly, the early period of Islam coming to the village, which established the Muslim community in the region; secondly, the period after the coming of Muhammadiyah, which led to the development of a modernist

² *Laras Madya* is an orchestra consisting of three small hand drums (*rebana*), one big hand drum (*jidur*), one *kendang* (Javanese drum with a top on both sides), and a set of brass. The *pujian* is sung together with the constant rhythm of *rebana*'s sounds, followed by *jidur* as the bass sound and coloured by the loud "ting" voice of brass. *cymbals*

orientation; and thirdly, the period after the election of the village chief (*kepala desa*), when the struggle between various groups occurred. Each period demonstrates different religious practices that characterise people's religious orientation.

Basin's religious experience also shows how Muhammadiyah, with its modernist ideas, has influenced the way in which people understand and practise Islam. This chapter will describe the presence of Muhammadiyah in Basin and its impact on religious, social and political affairs. The chapter will describe how Muhammadiyah's views have become the dominant discourse in the village. However, the process fostered by Muhammadiyah to change religious practise in Basin has not always been easy. This is because when Muhammadiyah dominated religious discourse, there emerged a challenge from a group consisting of former Muhammadiyah members who were disappointed with the organisation, and established their own group to practise different religious activities. The emergence of this new group has influenced Muhammadiyah in Basin. It provoked changes in the religious practices of members of Muhammadiyah in the village. To illustrate these changes, I will first describe the region and the old religious practice in Basin. After this, I will describe the Muhammadiyah organisation and its impact on religious orientation in Basin. Finally, the last part of the chapter will discuss the impact of the election of the village chief on the religious and social setting.

2. Region and Rituals: A Portrait of a Changing Village

Basin is a *dukuh* (hamlet) as well as a *desa* (village). It is famous for its Muhammadiyah organisation. There is no doubt that Basin has become the centre of the spread of Muhammadiyah into surrounding areas. As a *desa*, it consists of four hamlets, Basin itself, Kebonarum, Sambeng and

Nglarang. A large river deriving from Mount Merbabu provides the village with its water supplies for the thorough irrigation of rice and tobacco fields. It is essential to keep the water clean as people use the river for everyday activities such as bathing and washing. There are two big factories, one sugar cane and one tobacco, which are central places for work. Nglarang and Sambeng are close to the sugar cane factory, while Kebonarum and Basin are close to the tobacco company. However, this closeness does not always lead to an affiliation with the work at the factories. For example, Nglarang and Sambeng people do not always automatically work at the sugar cane factory. Similarly, Basin and Kebonarum people do not always go to the tobacco factory. Surprisingly, only a few people from Basin work in these two factories.

In terms of religious affiliation, in Nglarang and Kebonarum the majority of the population are Catholic, whereas in Basin and Sambeng the majority are Muslims. While people in Basin associate themselves with Muhammadiyah, people in Sambeng regard themselves as followers of Javanised Islam. As the biggest *dukuh* among the four, Basin has become the centre of village administration.

Traditionally, Basin *dukuh* is divided into a number of groups: South (*kidul*), North (*lor*), West (*kulan*), East (*wetan*), Centre (*tengah*), North-east (*lor wetan*) and Riverside (*pinggir kali*). These groups are also known as the *kondangan* (*slametan* groups). *Kondangan* literally means neighbourhoods, people who live within the same block are invited to come to a *slametan* ceremony. Each *kondangan* operates as one group in performing a communal *slametan*, and each is given a special name. The South group is called *Durenan*, as there is a big Durian tree there; the North group is named *lapangan* (soccer field) as this area is close to a soccer field; the West group is called *Bendho* as the leader of this group has a big *Bendho* (big knife); the East group is named *Wetan Bata* (bricks), as a lot of people

make bricks; the Centre group has no name; the North-east group is called *Ngasem* (tamarind) as there is a big tamarind tree there; and the *Pinggir Kali* (river bank) group already has its special name.

A *kondangan* group has important roles in social and religious affairs. In regard to social life, it plays a significant role in maintaining the unity of the neighbourhood. The *kondangan* group is the smallest unit of social organisation in the village and deals directly with people's affairs. A conflict between members within a *kondangan* group, for example, will be settled within the group. Similarly, in *gotong royong* (voluntary work) for building public facilities, such as a road, or the house of a member, the work is coordinated by the *kondangan*. All members of the group will participate, although there is no formal invitation or request.

Each *kondangan* group has a *langgar* or *mushalla*, a small mosque, usually owned by the religious leader living in the group. This *langgar* becomes a sort of "community centre" for the group. The main function of *langgar* is, like an ordinary mosque, a place for prayer. However, people in Basir differentiate between *langgar* and mosque. The mosque is used for *Jum'ah* prayers (Friday prayers) every Friday noon, whereas the *langgar* is not used for that purpose. In Basir, there are six *langgar* and one mosque although one *langgar* was rebuilt to become a mosque. In addition to being a place of prayer, a *langgar* is a public meeting place for the group to discuss their religious and social affairs. The leader of the group (*orang yang dituakan*) is usually also the *imam* of the *langgar*.

Dukuh Basir, as part of Desa Basir, has an official religious leader, called a *modin*, installed by the village chief (*lurah*) as his assistant in religious affairs. Like the *lurah* who is paid from income derived from a portion of village land (*bengkok*), the *modin* is also paid in *bengkok*. The word *modin* is an Arabic term which derives from *mu'azin*, meaning the one who calls people for prayer in the mosque. The *modin* is sometimes

also called *penghulu*. As a village officer, he administers religious affairs such as marriages, births and deaths.

In addition to this religious officer, however, Basin traditionally also had another religious leader, Mbah Kaji Maksum, who was later replaced by his son, Abdul Mursid. Mbah Kaji was regarded by people as their leader because of his knowledge of Islam. He taught people about Islam in the central mosque. In practice, Mbah Kaji conducted religious ceremonies, while the *modin* provided administrative support. These two religious leaders also divided their area of duties; Mbah Kaji managed religious affairs in the southern part of Basin and the *modin* organised religious affairs in the rest.

Before the establishment of Muhammadiyah, there was no formal organisation associated with Islam in Basin. In their religious practices, people did not associate themselves with any particular formal religious orientation. They practised Islam as it was taught by Mbah Kaji Maksum. According to the recollections of some elders, Mbah Kaji did not say anything about different practices. He was an important religious teacher in Basin, as he laid the strong foundation of Islam in the village. His title, *Kaji*, derived from Arabic *haji*, is given to a person who has performed the *haji*, the pilgrimage to Mecca during the month of *Dzulhijja*, the last month in the Islamic calendar. In the old days, to undertake a pilgrimage was very hard ^{financially} ~~materially~~ and physically. To go to Mecca, people used ships, which took several months, even years. Therefore, people who dared to perform the *haji* had to be well off economically and strongly committed. Judging from his title, *Kaji*, Mbah Maksum must have been a rich and strongly committed Muslim. This commitment to Islam was further shown when he donated (*wakaf*) his mosque to the Muslim community.

Although Mbah Kaji did not associate himself with a particular religious orientation, as a *pesantren* graduate, he taught Islam in line with

the practices and arguments developed by *pesantren* traditions, which are strongly affiliated to the views of traditional Islam. He taught people to recite the Qur'an by *pesantren* methods which use *sorogan* and *blandongan*. *Sorogan* is a system of teaching which employs individual study, whereas *blandongan* is a public lecture. He centred his teachings in his family mosque in front of his family house. In Mbah Karto's recollection, Mbah Kaji was a very tough teacher:

Mbah Kaji was very tough in teaching Islam until all of his students were afraid. The reason for Mbah Kaji's toughness was because he was afraid that he would teach them something wrong. Therefore, Mbah Kaji always strove to teach students to read the Qur'an in the right manner, even though he had to do it with toughness. Mbah Kaji had a bamboo stick which was originally used to point to words on the blackboard. However, later on Mbah Kaji used the stick for another purpose, for beating students who made a severe mistake in reading the Qur'an. For students who continuously made mistakes, Mbah Kaji punished them by immersing them in the pool. Because of these punishments, a lot of people, including me, were very afraid to come to the mosque.

Mbah Kaji taught people by three methods; *deresan* (reciting the Qur'an together) for those who could recite the Qur'an quite well; *simakan* with one person reciting the Qur'an and others listening to him/her and correcting the mistakes; and *mulangke*, to learn the Qur'an with one who has better knowledge. Mbah Kaji gave special attention to the last method by asking all people to "*mulangke*" to him only. During the last five minutes of each class, Mbah Kaji provided *pengajian* (a religious lecture) on Islamic knowledge. In *pesantren* terms, *mulangke* is similar to *sorogan*, and giving public *pengajian* is called *blandongan*. For people who wish to deepen their Islamic knowledge, they study at *pesantren*.

Apart from this tradition of teaching the Qur'an, Mbah Kaji also strongly supported the practice of *slametan* to celebrate occasions in the Islamic calendar and other important events. In these special events, such as *kataman* (when one has finished reciting the last chapter of the Qur'an), a *slametan* was conducted. The moment was very important, because

kataman is a step further in one's ability to recite the Qur'an. An informant described *kataman* as follows:

When one finished reciting Juz Amma, the last chapter of the Qur'an, the person was honoured. To celebrate the event, the parents of the child performed a *slametan* called *kataman* (the end). The *kataman slametan* was served with a mountainous rice shape (*sego tumpeng*) with vegetables on its side, some boiled chicken eggs and chicken. The *tumpeng*, to name the whole meal, was brought to the mosque to be eaten. Unlike on ordinary days, when few people stayed at the mosque after praying *maghrib*, on this occasion many would stay at the mosque. Mbah Kaji then used to recite some prayers in front of *tumpeng* and give some advice. After that, the *tumpeng* was divided into five or four parts. Each part was then eaten together by some people. If the person who conducted *slametan* was rich, the *tumpeng* was accompanied by red rice pudding (*jenang abang*) and *dawet* (a sweet drink made from coconut milk with a rice ball). However, nowadays, there are no such *slametan* any more.

There were several significant events which were celebrated through *slametan*: rites of passage, significant dates and special events. Rituals for individual life transitions consist of birth, childhood life stages, circumcision, puberty, marriage and death. A large *slametan* was later to become a typical aspect of many celebrations of events surrounding a child's birth including *sepasaran* (a Javanese week—five days—after the birth), *selapanan* (a Javanese month—thirty five days—after birth), and *nekeni* (a celebration when the child could walk for the first time). The women of the *kondangan* group and relatives were invited to come to the house conducting the *slametan* to *nyumbang*, literally "to help". *Nyumbang* includes giving something such as rice, coconuts, sugar or even money to the household to be used for the *slametan*. In return, the household gives those who *nyumbang* some cooked food (rice, vegetables and cakes). The portion given is appropriate to the *sumbangan* they gave. On the night of the *slametan*, men from the *kondangan* group would come to the house for *jagong* (which literally means sitting). At the *jagongan*, they would chat and sometimes also recite *berjanjen* (the story of the Prophet Muhammad). The simplest *slametan* involved giving a meal in banana leaves to the *kondangan* group, without conducting *sumbangan* and *jagongan*.

Significant dates for rituals related to the celebration of special Islamic events, included *Muludan* (the birth of Muhammad), *Isra' Mi'raj* (the night journey to meet God), *Ramadhan* (the month of fasting) and *Idul Fitri* (the celebration of the end of the fasting month). As these events were regarded as public celebrations, the *slametan* was conducted by all the people in the village. Not only did people in Basin celebrate them in a religious atmosphere, they also solemnised them with a *kondangan bareng* (a communal *slametan*). In the *kondangan bareng* each family presented "*sego tumpeng*" (a mountain-shaped mound of rice), vegetables, fruits and meat on a bamboo tray. The *kondangan* was held in every *kondangan* group at the *langgar* belonging to the group or at the house of their leader, who usually had a big house. Seated in a circle, with the food in the middle, people recited *tahlilan* and prayers led by the *modin* or the leader of the *kondangan* group. After that, they shared and exchanged the meal. For children, *kondangan* time was a time for enjoyment, since only in the *kondangan* could they eat delicious foods.

To prepare for *sego tumpeng* was not cheap. According to elders, a *sego tumpeng* required good quality rice that was expensive. People in Basin thought that preparing the *sego tumpeng* was the main celebration of those special days. As it was thought of as a ritual practice, it was done at the expense of other things including their children's schooling and health. Performing *kondangan* with *sego tumpeng* was an additional aspect of the celebration to make the situation more attractive. Furthermore, it was a means of inviting people to come to the celebration.

Mbah Karta's description of *kondangan* shows that the *slametan* was a common practice among Muslims in Basin. Performing *slametan* was seen as a kind of religious duty. It was regarded by people in Basin as a thing that had to be done by individuals. The argument for *slametan* was to preserve a tradition that had long been practised by the people. The

tradition had been maintained because it gave benefits to the people. Further, they argued that *slametan* with *do'a* (prayers) in Islam replaced the old habits of people who used the *slametan* and *kondangan* for gambling.

From these two examples, it is clear that the central elements of Islamic practice in Basin focused on the religious leader, Mbah Kaji, and the mosque. It is also clear that Mbah Kaji's teaching of Islam and the arguments supporting his teachings were in line with the views of traditional Islam. However, when Muhammadiyah came to the village, with the blessing (*restu*) of Mbah Kaji, religious practices were changed to accord with modernist views. To illustrate Muhammadiyah's work in changing religious practices in Basin, I will describe Muhammadiyah and the practices that it introduced.

3. Javanised Islam in Sambeng

Sambeng is the smallest of the four hamlets included in the Basin village administrative area (*Kelurahan Desa*). Actually Sambeng is a big hamlet, but it is divided into two parts. The smaller is part of Basin, whereas the bigger part is included in another administrative village, Gondang. A river and huge rice-field (*persawahan*) separate Sambeng and Basin hamlet. In terms of social relationships, villagers of Sambeng had more interactions with villagers in their larger Sambeng counterpart hamlet than with Basin. Sambeng villagers seldom went to Basin, and when they did it was only for administrative purposes.

As a result, Sambeng villagers were separated from Basin's social, political and religious affairs in general. In addition to its small population, around 150 villagers, the distance between Sambeng and Basin contributed to Sambeng villagers' disassociation from Basin's

affairs. Therefore, Sambeng villagers had their own religious traditions that were different from those practiced in Basin hamlet.

In a joking phrase, Basin villagers labelled Muslims in Sambeng as "Islam Jamus", which literally means Islam Buffalo. *Jamus* is an Arabic word that means buffalo. There was no exact explanation why Sambeng villagers were called this, as in Java the use of a buffalo has no negative meaning. Buffalo has even been used for royal names such as Mahesa Jenar and Kebo Giro (both Mahesa and Kebo denote buffalo). A possible explanation for the name was that *Jamus* was an abbreviation of Jama'ah Muslimin, a Muslim organisation under the PNI (Indonesian National Party) in the 1950s. Mbah Gerobag, the leader of Javanised Islam in Basin, was a devoted member of PNI.

In Sambeng, the group of Islam Jamus regarded themselves as a group that followed Javanised Islam. Other followers lived in Basin, and the leaders of Javanised Islam, Mbah Gerobag and Pak Pamong, resided in Basin. There was a small mosque in Sambeng used by the group for their Friday prayers. Mbah Gerobag, before he passed away in 1997, led the Friday prayers and gave a religious sermon (*khutbah*) before it. Though he could not recite the Qur'an, he once said to me that he memorised several short chapters (*surat*) of the Qur'an used for prayers. Although his memorisation of the chapters was not perfect, compared to other members, he had best memorised Qur'anic verses. When he gave an introductory speech during the circumcision of one of his grandsons, he said:

Our duty as Muslim parents to our children is to give a good name for our newly born babies, because a baby's name is a prayer. After that, on the seventh day we have to conduct *kekahan* (derived from Arabic 'Aqiqah meaning a religious bond) by slaughtering two goats for a boy and one goat for a girl baby. During the *kekahan* the baby has his hair cut. It is clear that performing *slametan*, like *sepasaran* (meaning a week) for a baby in Javanese tradition does not breach Islamic teachings because the Prophet Muhammad urged Muslims to do *kekahan*. The *slametan* is held to pray for the baby's good fortune in this world and in the hereafter.

The next duty of Muslim parents is to circumcise the children. In the Javanese tradition, we have *sunatan* for boys and *tetesan* for girls. The idea of circumcision is to inform children that they now start their adult life, meaning that they have to consider deeply the consequences of their actions. I remember, during my circumcision, my father telling me about the meaning of adolescent life. Today, my grandson was circumcised, let's pray for the safety of my grandson and may God protect him.

It is clear from the speech of Mbah Gerobag that, though he never studied Islam, as he said to me, he had heard these teachings from his elders. And he believed that there was no reason to abandon *slametan* as, although only implicitly, Islam allows a Muslim to perform *slametan* such as in the celebration of a newly born baby.

This group routinely performed *slametan* to mark the important events relating to birth, death, happiness and malicious circumstances. They conducted *slametan* in a simple way and sometimes in a complicated one. The simple *slametan* consisted of preparing meals to be distributed to neighbours, whereas the complicated *slametan* encompassed inviting neighbours to attend the *slametan* and making part of the *slametan* a homage to the spirit residing in the river believed to be the ruler of the village.

In addition, to complete their obligation as Javanese who were still loyal to the reign of the *kraton*, on a certain day, usually on the night of Selasa (Tuesday) *Legi*, many Sambeng villagers went to the *kraton*. For them, this visit was an expression of their loyalty and respect to the king of Java. They conducted their visits in various ways; some of them sitting in front of the *kraton* gate; others sitting under the banyan tree located in the front yard of the *kraton* (*alun-alun*); and others sitting in the *Masjid Agung*, the mosque of the *kraton*. According to these villagers, their visits were an indication that they still held their Javanese identities.

They also believed in spiritual power that can be used as a weapon for self-defence. They believed that spirits residing in a sacred place such as a big tree, a river or a graveyard, could harm people. To protect oneself

from a spirit's attack, one has to have spiritual power to counter it. One of many famous places to acquire spiritual powers was the graveyard of a pious *wali* such as Kyai Ageng Gribig. When an *Angkawiyu* was held in the graveyard of Kyai Ageng Gribig, Sambeng villagers, especially those who were attached to Javanised Islam, went to the *Angkawiyu* hoping to obtain spiritual aura from the *wali*.

However, after the 1980s, the activities of Javanised Islam in Sambeng faded away. The growing Islamisation by Muhammadiyah in Basin had influenced Javanised Islam in Sambeng. The practice of Muhammadiyah to rotate their *pengajian* from one hamlet to another, targeted Sambeng. Some children from Sambeng were educated by Muhammadiyah free of charge. These children brought religious changes in Sambeng hamlet.

With the assistance of their counterparts from Basin, the youths of Sambeng began to organise *pengajian* in their hamlet. The mosque which used to be the place for Friday prayers for the group of Javanised Islam was used for their *pengajian*. The growing number of people who came to the mosque caused the youths of Sambeng to ask for help from Muhammadiyah in Basin to renovate the mosque. In 1981 the mosque was renovated and a year later the mosque was crowded with Muslims praying. The *Yasinan* of 'Aisiyiah also used the mosque for their *pengajian*. When the *Yasinan* took its turn at the mosque in Sambeng a large number of women came to boost the support for women in Sambeng to take part in *pengajian*.

However, it seems that Muhammadiyah had influenced the followers of Javanised Islam only on the surface. This can be seen when they turned against Muhammadiyah after witnessing some members of Muhammadiyah, especially its youths, practise Islam in a strict sense, such as wearing *jubah*. These youths also did not tolerate old religious

practices such as *slametan*. Therefore, when some people in Basin started to practise old religious practices to show their protest to Muhammadiyah, the followers of Javanised Islam in Sambeng were among their enthusiastic supporters. Their protest to Muhammadiyah can also be seen in the election of the village chief in Basin which will be described later in this chapter.

4. Muhammadiyah in Basin

The Muhammadiyah organisation in Basin, according to its leaders, was formally established in the 1970s. However, the villagers' involvement with modernist activities had been established long before the formal establishment of Muhammadiyah. For example, at the time of the independence struggle, some youths in Basin joined *Hisbullah* (the army of Allah) which was founded by the modernist organisation (Boland, 1982). The establishment of Muhammadiyah in the village thus began with people's involvement in Muhammadiyah activities. The introduction of the movement was mobilised by youths who were actively involved in social organisations such as the boy scouts (*hisbul wathan*) and the drum band, and acted as social workers (*bala bantuan sosial*) in the town. The majority of these youths were employed, some as teachers at the state SR (elementary school) or at various *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* (religious schools) owned by Muhammadiyah. Others were employed at the tobacco or sugar cane companies.

The idea of establishing Muhammadiyah in Basin started around 1970 when these youths proposed a gathering which they called an *arisan*. It was a kind of savings group which was organised by members contributing *iuran* (a certain amount of money). A member chosen by *undian* (barrel lottery) would then receive the money collected. The *arisan* would finish when all members had had their turn at receiving the

money. The gathering was designed not only to save money but also to help members who really needed money. After several meetings, one member proposed having a *kultum*—(*kuliah tujuh menit*, a seven minute lecture). Members of the *arisan* group took turns providing this. After the *kultum* there was question time to discuss any religious or social problems.

This *arisan* gathering, one member recalled, became an important forum for expressing the voices and ideas of the youths, and provided an opportunity to discuss religious and social problems. In relation to religious problems they usually discussed current ritual practices in the village and different views on *fiqh* (ulama's views on religious matters). Since some of them had been actively involved in Muhammadiyah activities, their views were reflected in the discussion. A book compiling the *fatwa* (decisions) of Muhammadiyah's *ulama*, *Kumpulan Keputusan Tarjih*, was used as the reference (Muhammadiyah, n.d.). Although in its early stages Muhammadiyah did not label itself as a renewal movement (*gerakan pembaharuan*), this label has been attached to the movement by scholars of Islamic knowledge since its religious views seek to modernise Islam. Furthermore, Muhammadiyah views resemble those of modernist movements in other Muslim societies.

Muhammadiyah is well known by its slogan, "*Kembali ke Al-Qur'an dan Sunnah*" (return to the Qur'an and the Sunnah), which inspires its members to purify religious practices of the intrusion of non-Islamic elements.³ Muhammadiyah has set an agenda to purify Islamic religious practices relating to *TBK*—*Tahayul* (belief in spirits), *Bid'ah* (heresy), and *Khurafat* (unnecessary practices). As the young people were attracted by

³ Mu'ti Ali characterised four aspects—"the impurity of the religious life, the inefficiency of the religious education, the activities of the Christian missionaries and the indifferent and even anti-religious attitudes of the intelligentsia"—supporting the establishment of Muhammadiyah (Ali, 1960:21).

the views of Muhammadiyah, they brought this slogan for discussion in the *arisan* meeting.

Another important implication of the slogan is a strong encouragement to open the door of *ijtihad*, reasoning and explaining the verses of the Qur'an and other sources of Islam. In this regard, Muhammadiyah rejects the position of traditional Islam which argues that there are thousands of books regarding Islamic jurisprudence that have been written by qualified *ulama*. These books are therefore the ultimate sources for Muslims in matters of jurisprudence. As there are no *ulama* today who can equal the greatness of the past *ulama*, traditional Islam has closed the door of *ijtihad*. However, modernists argue that as the history of humans changes over time, there is a need for *ijtihad* to solve new religious problems. Modernist Muslims also believe that some of the Qur'anic verses are general statements which need further elaboration. To do so, the door of *ijtihad* has to be kept open.

In addition to the slogan "return to the Qur'an and the Sunnah", Muhammadiyah also believes in the importance of the "social theology" of Al-Ma'un, a chapter in the Qur'an. This chapter was always read by ^{Ahmad} ~~Muhammad~~ Dahlan, the founder of Muhammadiyah, in every congregational prayer (*sholat Jama'ah*). It inspired Dahlan's ideas on social values since the chapter appeals for help for orphans and the poor. The chapter says that even if a person has performed daily prayers (*sholat*) five times, the most fundamental ritual in Islam, he/she may be regarded as someone who has forgotten the message of religion if he/she neglects the conditions of the poor and orphans. The Al-Ma'un chapter says,

Seest thou one who denies the religion (Islam) (1). Then such is the one who repulses (with harshness) the orphan (2). And encourages not the feeding of the indigent (3). So woe to the worshippers (4). Who are neglectful of their prayers (5). Those who (want but) to be seen (of people) (6). But refuse (to supply) (even) neighbourly needs (7) (QS 107:1-7) (Ali, 1983).

These two ideas, the slogan to "return to the Qur'an and the Sunnah" and the social theology of Al-Ma'un chapter provide the basis for the Muhammadiyah movement. The slogan has given inspiration for renewal and purification of religious practices, while the theology of Al-Ma'un has provided clear guidance for social and economic activities. As a result, the people in Basin started to consider their ritual practices and recheck their status in the Qur'an and the Sunnah. In social and economic affairs, they began to look at people's everyday problems such as poverty, illiteracy and backwardness.

After several meetings, some members suggested establishing Muhammadiyah as a formal organisation in the village. However, others proposed implementing the social and economic ideas of Muhammadiyah first to help develop Islam and the community (*ummah*). The reason behind the latter suggestion was to avoid the bad reactions which had occurred in other regions. Some areas had rejected Muhammadiyah, which had sometimes sparked conflicts among Muslims. The youths became actively involved in organising a school and *zakat* (alms giving) for the poor and orphans. They proposed further to establish schools to educate people not only in religious knowledge but also in secular knowledge. They also discussed the possibility of establishing a cooperative (*koperasi*) to help people in Basin increase their business capabilities.

As time went on, and when some activities introduced by the youths were really working, people in Basin realised that they needed more funds. To obtain this funding, these young people urged villagers to maximise the management of *zakat* and *sadaqah* (alms). They argued that the money could be used for funding other social activities. In doing so, they established an organisation to collect and distribute the *zakat* and *sadaqah*. Previously, some people gave the *zakat* and *sadaqah* to the

religious teacher in the village who controlled its distribution. Others distributed the *zakat* and *sadaqah* to the poor themselves. These two ways of collecting and managing *zakat* could not be monitored. By establishing a sort of permanent organisation called *Amil Zakah* (the one who organises *zakat*) the distribution and management could be managed more effectively and efficiently.

After succeeding in establishing a school, the community's trust in the youths increased. With this faith, the youths began to criticise the religious practices which they perceived as deviant to the main teaching of Islam. For example, they criticised the practice of *slametan*, which they claimed included worshipping spirits of the people's ancestors. In the old days, people in Basin dedicated *slametan* to the spirits of the village (*danyang*) which they believed resided in the big trees located at the edge of the village. To please the *danyang*, who if disturbed would cause calamity, people gave them a portion of the *slametan* called *sesajen* (homage). Such a practice was regarded by the youths as practising *tahayul*.

Another example of *tahayul* was "*jolangkungan*", which involved inviting spirits to a game. When a spirit had entered into the *jolangkung* (a mannequin made from wood), people asked it to forecast their future lives. Such a practice was regarded by the youths as *syirik* (worshipping creatures other than God), which is the greatest sin in Islam. In their view, all practices related to religion had to be returned to their fundamental sources, the Qur'an and the Sunnah.

The ideas of these youths attracted sympathy from the community, and this increased when these young people seriously began to discuss poverty and backwardness in the society. With community support, they established a *koperasi* to help people earn some money as well as to train in a trade. The *koperasi*, Tani Makmur, operated in farming and in

marketing produce. The 'Aisyiah, the women's group of Muhammadiyah, established a *koperasi* which leased kitchen equipment, and also managed a playgroup for children.

After all these successes, the establishment of Muhammadiyah in the village was welcomed. At first, it only had a few supporters, but these were from the elites, the educated, the rich and the youth. Therefore, although at that time Muhammadiyah was still a small organisation, it became influential in the village, especially in education and in the economy. Until it began to exert a strong influence in these areas, Muhammadiyah was still very weak in changing religious attitudes and philosophical thinking. Therefore, Muhammadiyah could only really influence the religious life of people after it gained a very strong base in the social and educational life in Basin. Religious activities changed in the 1980s. These religious changes resulted from Muhammadiyah success in political life. To see these social and religious changes, I will describe the religious practices which were introduced by Muhammadiyah in Basin. Because of the significant role of Muhammadiyah schools, I will first discuss the process of their development in the village.

4.1 Building a School

The establishment of the first Muhammadiyah school in the village was inspired by the need for an institution to promote modernist ideas. Although there had been a state school (*sekolah dasar negeri*), the youth still insisted on establishing a Muhammadiyah school to teach modernist ideas to villagers. Started in 1969 in a small room of a villager's house, the youth began their educational mission. The school, or precisely the room for schooling, had to move from one house to another as sometimes the room previously lent by a villager was used for family purposes. However, the spirit of the youths and students never faded away.

When the enthusiasm of students to go to school increased and there was no big house available for the school, the youths established a simple school (*sekolah sederhana*) on unused land (*tanah kosong*). The school was built with bamboo walls (*gedek*), and a roof of sugar cane leaves (*rumbia*). For the students this simple school (*gubuk sekolah*) was an excellent place for their pursuit of knowledge. With its availability, the educational activities, formal and informal, developed. However, the school could not protect them when heavy rain came. In the rainy season, the school had to close.

In 1970, there was a big meeting to discuss the future of the school. The increased number of students and the inconvenience of the present school provoked villagers to find a solution. At the meeting everyone agreed that there was a serious need to build a permanent building for the school. However, the Muhammadiyah organisation had no money for this. The meeting finally concluded with just "a dream" to build a permanent school. Two ways to raise money were decided. Firstly, Muhammadiyah and students would work together by hiring *sawah* (rice field) from villagers. Secondly, there was a consideration to find donations from outside the village through the Muhammadiyah organisation.

When a little money had been collected from both activities, there was surprising news. Two villagers decided to donate (*wakaf*) their *sawah* to be used for building a school. After two years, Muhammadiyah had enough money to start to build the school. When the foundation of the school was laid, all the villagers attended the ceremony. The project reached its peak when another three people, who had land nearby the already donated land, donated their land. The news was responded to with joy. In 1973, the development of the school formally started, and a year later the school was completed and ready to be used. The building

functioned not only for educational purposes, but was used also for social functions. Students from years one to six (elementary school) studied in the same building, although they had to have shifts. Students in years one to three studied in the morning, whereas the students in years four to six studied in the afternoon.

In 1986, Muhammadiyah in Basin opened an SMP (secondary school) to allow students to continue their study. However, the establishment of this school created a little conflict, as the owner of the land adjacent to the already existing school did not want to donate or sell. Although other villagers offered him their land in exchange, the owner insisted on keeping his land. After a painful relationship, during which the owner accused Muhammadiyah of forcing him to sell the land, and Muhammadiyah supporters regarded him as not behaving as a good Muslim, the conflict was resolved when finally, after receiving advice from his children, he allowed the land to be purchased by Muhammadiyah. The success story of the school did not end there. In 1993 Muhammadiyah established an SMEA (an economic high school), which completed the endeavour of modernists in Basin to educate the village.

The success of the Muhammadiyah schools, from kindergarten to high school, was a symbol of the success of modernist *dakwah* in the village. The schools have become the centre, not only of general education but also of religious education. In the morning, students studied general knowledge, and in the afternoon, they studied Islamic knowledge. In 1993, the first reunion of alumni of the Muhammadiyah school was held. Around 200 alumni from all over Indonesia came to the reunion, as some of them had migrated to Sumatra, Kalimantan and Irian Jaya.

Because Muhammadiyah owns the school, it can introduce subjects that are relevant to the organisation. For example, in teaching religious

understanding, the school uses modernist argumentation in the practise of religion. It denounces the danger of mixing Islamic practices with non-Islamic practices. In practising religion, Muslims have to return to the teaching of the Qur'an and the Sunnah. A religious teacher said to me:

Previously, many villagers practised their religion without knowing the reason behind the practice. They practised Islam as their elders without asking the argumentation underlying it. For example, many villagers visited the tomb of Kyai Ageng Gribig at the time of the *Angkawiyu*, celebrating the life of Kyai Ageng Gribig, in the month of *Sapar*, to ask for his *wasilah* (intercession) to communicate with Allah. It is said in the Qur'an that if a Muslim wants to pray and meet God, he can do it because God is very close. (He quoted the verse of the Qur'an which supports his ideas.) As every Muslim is close to God, he does not need to go to a *wali*. If a Muslim knows that his bad deeds obstruct his relationship with Allah, he has to change his deeds, not by going to a *wali*.

The primary function of the school, in addition to improving the level of education in general, has been to spread religious understanding in the village. By improving the quality of religious understanding, Muslims can elucidate the reasons behind their practices. The majority of students and alumni of the school have played a major role in maintaining the existence of modernist views in the village.

4.2 The New Islamic Practices

The existence of Muhammadiyah in Basin has brought some changes in the practice of Islam. As a "*Gerakan Pembaharuan*" (a renewal movement), Muhammadiyah has made reforms in the ways in which Muslims practise Islam. On the basis of the concept "return to the Qur'an and the Sunnah", Muhammadiyah promotes the purification of Islamic practice from the influence of local traditions which are not in accord with Islamic law. If there is no reference to its existence in the Qur'an and the Sunnah, the practice should be abolished.

According to Muhammadiyah, there are a lot of practices which are considered to be religious which, in fact, have no reference in the Qur'an and the Sunnah. However, some of these have a significant meaning in

the social life of Muslims. In other words, some of the activities are actually performed in the interest of social relations. For example, *slametan* for the rites of passage of a person is a social activity to celebrate an individual's life transition. To provide the activity with a religious meaning, the *slametan* has been coloured by religious elements, such as reciting *tahlilan* for the deceased to help them on the day of judgment.

Therefore, if Muhammadiyah abandoned all such activities, Muslim communities would lose the social forum which can be used to strengthen the emotional ties among Muslims. Because of this, some Indonesian scholars have criticised Muhammadiyah as having abandoned the religiosity of Muslim social activities.

To answer such criticisms, Muhammadiyah has invented activities to replace those activities that have been abandoned. In doing so, Muhammadiyah has returned some of those activities to their proper social significance. For example, *slametan* to celebrate the birth of a child or after the death of a person is held as a social function without the assumption that such a ceremony is a religious obligation. The ceremony can include a religious activity, but it should not be regarded as religious. For example, in the *slametan*, people may read the Qur'an, but the reward (*pahala*) for reciting the Qur'an should be understood as an individual *ibadah*. Previously, people had regarded the recitation of the Qur'an in such a ceremony as a religious obligation that should be done to obtain a reward for the deceased. To avoid such an assumption, Muhammadiyah renamed *slametan* as *syukuran*, an Arabic term which means a way of showing thanks. Moreover, they renamed the *slametan* after the death of a person as *Yaasinan*, meaning reading the chapter *Yaasin*.

With the *syukuran*, Muhammadiyah wants to achieve three important things. Firstly, it has reinstated the ritual's original meaning as a social function to demonstrate thanks, happiness or condolence.

Secondly, Muhammadiyah has re-established the status of *slametan* as a voluntary ceremony that has a more social than religious aspect. Thirdly, as a result of these two important ideas, Muhammadiyah has encouraged people to become wiser in spending money on *slametan*. In other words, Muhammadiyah has also taken into account the economic aspect of religious activities.

In addition to the reformation of ritual practices, the most important activities introduced by Muhammadiyah correspond to the social and economic aspects of religion. For example, in collecting *zakat*, Muhammadiyah urges people to maximise its use and management. Previously, Muslims thought that their duty was completed by paying alms every year without questioning its distribution and management. Traditionally Muslims pay their *zakat* to their religious leaders, *kyai* or a religious teacher in the village, and its distribution is managed by the *kyai* without the intervention of others. Questioning *kyai* about its distribution is regarded as dishonest, not *ikhlas*, meaning that one has paid *zakat* without good intentions.

In implementing its ideas, Muhammadiyah has radically challenged the existence of religious practices which have become "traditions" for village people. At the outset, this gives people the impression that Muhammadiyah, by abandoning a lot of social religious practices, has done away with the religious element in everyday life. However, to compensate for this loss, Muhammadiyah builds a strong commitment to support the social aspects of Islamic law. As a result, it gives the impression that Muhammadiyah is more concerned with social activities than religious activities.

Although some people, especially at the grass roots level, are hostile to Muhammadiyah reformism, others enthusiastically welcome it. People who accept Muhammadiyah ideas argue that the slogan "return to the

Qur'an and the Sunnah" is actually an effort to think about Islam through studying its fundamental roots. The concept encourages Muslims to study and again open up the Qur'an and the Sunnah, and explore their relevance to current conditions. Rechecking all religious practices for their legitimacy in the Qur'an and the Sunnah requires serious rethinking (*ijtihad*). Furthermore, to maximise social values embodied in religious rituals, Muslims also have to think creatively to find a better way to implement religious values in society. Muhammadiyah, with its ideas of reformation and modernisation, has provided the villagers with guidance and allowed them to enter urban affairs such as trades and professional jobs and to embrace the pursuit of knowledge and technology.

In Basin, clearly the supporters of Muhammadiyah were initially the young and the rich. These two groups affiliated with Muhammadiyah for several reasons. For the youth, their experience of the Catholic and Christian schools in the town drove them to establish such schools for Muslim education. Although there were already some schools for Muslims, *pesantren*, they argued that these only taught students religious knowledge, neglecting other types of knowledge. Therefore, when Muhammadiyah actively became involved in building schools to teach both religious and secular knowledge, the youth supported the organisation. For the rich, Muhammadiyah's flexibility towards modernisation, as reflected in the acceptance of science and technology, helped build their faith in dealing with the improvement in secular life without losing its religious identity. However, the most important reason for their support of Muhammadiyah was the latter's intention to establish a social forum in addition to a religious one. Forums, such as cooperatives (*koperasi*), have given the villagers the opportunity to develop their ability in business.

It is clear that people in Basin have become affiliated with Muhammadiyah because of its important functions in their social life. In other words, their support for Muhammadiyah was driven by social and economic reasons. When Muhammadiyah's influence on social and economical activities became significant, the renewal of religious values and practices was implemented easily. Consequently, the reform in religious ideologies in Basin did not spark any great conflict. However, when Muhammadiyah's social and economic services diminished, people began to turn away to other organisations. In Basin this can be seen from Muhammadiyah's involvement in the election of the village chief.

5. The Election of *Kepala Desa* (Village Chief)

As Muhammadiyah became the dominant Islamic religious organisation in Basin, and as its number of followers increased, its involvement in religious, social and political affairs could not be ignored. In political affairs, for example, Muhammadiyah played a major role in the election of the village chief. Because of its influence, Muhammadiyah could use the election to bargain for its political and social position in the village. To provide a clear picture of Muhammadiyah's role in the election of the village chief in Basin, I will describe the elections in 1982 and 1988. I will also depict the impact of the elections on religious as well as political affairs.

5.1 The Election of *Kepala Desa* in 1982

When there was an announcement from the office of Klaten district (*kabupaten*) that there would be an election to replace the deceased village chief, many people registered their candidacy. For Basin people, this election was the first since the time when the former village chief had been chosen by the Dutch. Therefore, the announcement from the

government was cheerfully welcomed. As many people registered their candidacy, the government instigated a test to select candidates. There were two kinds of tests, a written and a spoken one. In the written test, candidates were asked about the ideology of the state, its programs and other governmental affairs. In the spoken test, they were asked to deliver a speech about the future of the village if they were elected as village chief. In addition to these two basic tests, government officers held interviews with candidates who had passed the written and spoken tests.

According to Muhammadiyah records, about thirteen people applied to be candidates. Eight of these were Muhammadiyah members who were actively involved in the organisation. It was difficult for Muhammadiyah to decide which of these eight would be officially supported by the organisation. Therefore, some people proposed to hold a general meeting between the elite leaders of Muhammadiyah and the candidates.

The meeting was held, and huge numbers attended. After calling for the election to achieve Muhammadiyah goals, the chair of Muhammadiyah called on the candidates to have *ikhlas* (purity in faith) feelings and keep in touch with the organisation. One person questioned whether Muhammadiyah, as an organisation, should be involved in the election. This person argued that the national policy of Muhammadiyah advocates against becoming involved in political events to avoid disputes which could result in conflict within the organisation. Therefore, he proposed giving Muhammadiyah members the freedom to stand as independent candidates without any involvement with the organisation. However, some people strongly rejected this argument. Although they acknowledged that it was true that Muhammadiyah should avoid involvement in politics, they maintained that this did not mean that it should ignore politics. As the politics of the village influences its

activities, Muhammadiyah should be involved. Furthermore, its members could benefit from Muhammadiyah, as an organisation, winning the election.

There was a long and serious debate between these two parties. Each group provided support for its argument and exposed the weaknesses of its opponents. As the debate became heated and threatened to lead to disunity within the organisation, a young Muhammadiyah leader spoke. He was well known as a sincere and honest person, and most importantly he seemed not to have any direct interest in the matter. He said that Muhammadiyah had gathered that night to talk about the possibility of using Muhammadiyah, as an organisation, to help its members to win the election. It would be much easier for Muhammadiyah to gather people together, as shown by the current meeting, rather than if an individual candidate asked people to attend a meeting. Similarly, in the election, it would be much easier to win by using the flag of Muhammadiyah since the decision made by the meeting would bind all Muhammadiyah members. Therefore, the candidate would obtain strong support from Muhammadiyah members.

After they agreed on the involvement of Muhammadiyah, another issue arose: how to elect the candidate who would be supported by Muhammadiyah? One suggested ranking the candidates based on intellectual and religious activities, their dedication to Muhammadiyah and their social interactions. The rank would decide the suitability of the person to become a candidate. However, there was disagreement over who should decide the rank, and how people would measure the religious ability of a person.

A member of the Muhammadiyah committee suggested delaying the ranking until the announcement of the test results. However, many people who argued that it would be difficult to decide the ranking after

the test, since a person who passed might not be willing to accept a low rank, rejected this suggestion. Finally, there was a suggestion to allow the candidates themselves to decide, as they were the ones who would be affected by the decision.

A meeting of all candidates from Muhammadiyah was then set up. Muhammadiyah, as the organisation that would help the candidate to win, supervised the meeting. After a long and serious debate about how the ranking would be arranged, the meeting decided to delay the matter until the announcement of the test results. A meeting of all candidates who passed the test would then be set up. Furthermore, the meeting also reached an agreement that the candidates would not resign from Muhammadiyah.

When the results of the tests were released, five candidates had passed, of which only two were members of Muhammadiyah. This result was welcomed by Muhammadiyah, since it would make the subsequent negotiations easier. Furthermore, these two candidates were relatives. Therefore, Muhammadiyah believed that an agreement would be easily reached. When the two candidates met at a confidential meeting attended by only these two candidates and some of the elite of Muhammadiyah, they promised to make a deal with the help of Muhammadiyah. In a very short meeting, they agreed that one of them would withdraw his candidacy. However, the candidate who ran in the election would provide compensation by giving whoever resigned one fourth of the village land (*bengkok*, the salary) for the first two years. Muhammadiyah would obtain one quarter of the *bengkok* for the remaining six years since a village chief occupies the office for eight years.

After one Muhammadiyah candidate had resigned, only four candidates were left to compete in the election. These four, judging from their supporters, would compete in a very tight competition. Suradji, a

member of the air force, was supported by Muhammadiyah. He was not born in Basın, but was married to a woman from Basın. He stayed at the air force complex in Yogyakarta. Sutjipta, a Protestant married to a Muslim woman, was a descendant of the *priyayi* who had the biggest house and house yard in Basın. He was a police officer. Sumitra, the third candidate, was a descendant of a very rich *priyayi* in Basın. He acknowledged himself as Javanised Islam, and was supported by his brother who worked for the governor of Central Java. Politically, therefore, Sumitra had very strong support. The last candidate was Wakidi, a Catholic and an army man who had his main followers in Nglarang and Kebonarum hamlets.

These four candidates competed in a succession of elections. The first had to be repeated as Suradji and Sumitra had the same number of votes. The election was declared a draw, although when it was recounted Suradji won by one vote. However, the district chief (*camat*), as the responsible organiser, decided to repeat the election. The second election was boycotted by both Muhammadiyah and Catholics, as some evidence was found that the Muhammadiyah candidate had been forced to withdraw by the government officials operating through his air force commander. Finally, a village chief was elected in the third election round, with strong backing from the district army (*kodim*). I will describe these three elections in some detail below.

5.1.1 The First Election

The Muhammadiyah candidate had some advantages compared to the other candidates, since, as an organisation, Muhammadiyah had an established forum which made it easier to gather people together to discuss the strategy of the election. With only a week for the campaign, other candidates had more difficulties, unless they had money to attract

people to meetings. Furthermore, they had to find ways of persuading people to vote for them.

The leaders of Muhammadiyah were well aware of their advantages. For the whole week of the campaign, Muhammadiyah held *pengajian* in the mosque and *langgar* to inform the people of the importance of the village chief for the prosperity of the village. Moreover, Muhammadiyah had asked for the generosity of its candidate and, if he won the election, he had agreed to give one quarter of his *bengkok*. In return for this generosity Muhammadiyah would strive to win the election for him. The *bengkok* would be used to fund Muhammadiyah activities such as schooling, *koperasi* and youth activities. Furthermore, if Muhammadiyah could help its candidate win the election, the people's trust in the organisation would increase. Therefore, the leaders said, Muhammadiyah's efforts to win the election must be supported.

To challenge the aggressive movement of the Muhammadiyah, other candidates used money. Sumitra, for example, gave Rp. 5,000-10,000 to each family who wanted to vote for him. He also promised, if he won the election, to give another Rp. 10,000 after the election. Furthermore, he promised he would personally finance the cementing of all village roads. To support his campaign, he chose some prominent people who did not like Muhammadiyah to become his campaigners (*botoh*). One leader, a former Muhammadiyah member, became actively involved. Sumitra also asked his brother to seek funds from the government to rebuild the *langgar* to become the most beautiful mosque in the village. The project was completed a month before the election. This new mosque, named Masjid Takwa, became the centre for his supporters.

In addition, according to some people, Sumitra enlisted the help of some *dukun* (paranormals) to support him spiritually. He invited to Basin some famous *dukun* from Klaten who had often helped to win such

elections. The *dukun* were extremely well paid. The night before the election, people said that the *dukun* wandered around the village setting *mantra* (mystical weapons) in order to influence people's minds. The *mantra* was designed to influence memory, with the result that people would only remember Sumitra's name. Furthermore, to defend Sumitra from attacks of *dukun* hired by other candidates, Sumitra's *dukun* made a fortress by putting white rice around Sumitra's house.

To respond to the issue of the *dukun*, some members of Muhammadiyah urged its leader to hold a meeting to discuss the matter. Some leaders, in line with Muhammadiyah beliefs, did not believe that such *mantra* exist. However, after intense requests from various members, Muhammadiyah held the meeting. At this meeting, the leader said that it had been called not because Muhammadiyah believed in *dukun*, but to prevent the *dukun* from influencing the people who believed in and used them. However, Muhammadiyah did not enlist the help of another *dukun* to counter Sumitra's *dukun*. Rather Muhammadiyah urged its members to recite the Qur'an, because the organisation believed that the *dukun*'s power would be defeated by the power of Allah. Muhammadiyah asked the youth to remind people to recite "*Bismillah*" ("in the name of God") before they went to the polling place. In the early morning, some Muhammadiyah youths waited for people at every corner of the road to remind Muhammadiyah members to recite *Bismillah* before voting.

When the day of the election arrived, there was great tension between Muhammadiyah members and Sumitra's group. Knowing their advantages, Sumitra's group felt more confident than Muhammadiyah members. They felt confident since they were supported by the government and had the *dukun* factor in their favour. On the other hand, Muhammadiyah members felt that they had been threatened by the efforts of the Sumitra family who had used money and governmental

support. However, Muhammadiyah members also believed that a lot of people were now educated, and would think of the long term future of the village. Even if they were offered money, they would refuse to elect Sumitra. To ensure that all the plans which had been set up worked, Muhammadiyah urged the youth to scrutinise the election.

The election was successfully held, and all eligible voters cast their votes. Those who had emigrated to other cities came home to vote. People gathered around the polling place to watch the election. On other corners people also gathered, most of them outsiders, betting with each other on the winner. After 1 p.m., the close of the election, the ballots were counted with public witnesses. An amazing result occurred. There were two candidates with the same number of votes. Therefore, the district officer decided to recount the ballots of these two candidates. After counting three times, a mistake in recording the result was discovered. Suradji, the Muhammadiyah candidate, had actually won by one vote.

The *camat* asked the election committee to delay the announcement of the winner until there was a decision from the *bupati*. After consultation, and some pressure from the government, the *camat* announced that the election was a draw, and voting must be repeated in a week's time. This decision made Muhammadiyah angry. The organisation invited journalists and showed them the result: a one vote majority. However, the decision had already been made by the government, and the protest from the people was entirely ignored.

5.1.2 The Second Election

Following its disappointment with the government's decision to repeat the election, Muhammadiyah received another disappointment. Acting through his air force commander, the government asked Suradji to withdraw his candidacy. In his explanation to Muhammadiyah, he said that he had been threatened by his commander, who told him to choose

the air force or the election. Muhammadiyah believed that this demand had been arranged by Sumitra, who had a close connection to the government. As a result of this resignation, Muhammadiyah had no candidate. This made Muhammadiyah members angry. However, the news was happily received by Sumitra's group as the withdrawal of Muhammadiyah's candidate would obviously smooth their way to win the election.

In an angry mood, Muhammadiyah held a meeting to decide how to respond to the situation. There were two proposals. First, some members urged the leader to make the same deal with Sumitra as they had made with Suradji. This would mean that all Muhammadiyah members would vote for him, if he gave one fourth of the *bengkak* to Muhammadiyah. Second, some members urged a boycott of the election. Most members were in favour of the first proposal. Therefore, the meeting chose a delegation of two leaders to negotiate with Sumitra's group.

The delegation went to Sumitra's house to negotiate. Surprisingly, Sumitra cynically replied that there would be no deal with Muhammadiyah and that he would not give the organisation any special status in Basin. He rejected the deal because he believed that he would win the election. The Muhammadiyah delegation went back to the Muhammadiyah meeting in humiliation. Suddenly, the people's anger erupted. With full support of its members, Muhammadiyah decided to boycott the election. To increase its effect, Muhammadiyah sent a messenger to the Catholic candidate, Wakidi, inviting him to join the boycott. Wakidi's group agreed in sympathy with Muhammadiyah. Without these two parties, the quorum for the election could not be met.

On the other hand, with full enthusiasm and confidence, Sumitra's group went cheerfully to the election, having prepared a big celebration in anticipation of winning. Sumitra believed that no candidate could

compete with him. He thought Muhammadiyah members would vote for him, as they did not have another candidate and would not vote for Wakidi, the Catholic candidate, or Sutjipta, the Protestant candidate. Being Muslim, he believed he would be favoured by Muhammadiyah members.

Sumitra's group did not know that there would be a boycott. However, they did wonder why a lot of people did not turn up to the election. Voting was originally due to close at 1 p.m. However, after so few people cast their vote, the officers prolonged the election time until 3 p.m. But still few people took part. After 3 p.m., the committee decided to count the ballots. Ironically, the Muhammadiyah members and Wakidi's supporters were present for the count. They were waiting for a decision when the quorum was not reached.

The *camat*, once again, cancelled the election. He brought the result to the *bupati* and reported what had happened. The *bupati* then asked the *camat* to hold another election as the final election. If people did not take part, even if only one third of the people voted, the election would be declared legitimate (*sah*).

5.1.3 The Third Election

With the experience of the second election in mind, Sumitra's group thought seriously about the power of Muhammadiyah. Sumitra realised that he had missed his chance when he had rejected Muhammadiyah's offer to work together. Therefore, he invited the leaders of Muhammadiyah to come to his house to negotiate again about the election. In his message sent to Muhammadiyah, he agreed that if he won he would give a part of his *bengkak* to Muhammadiyah. However, Muhammadiyah refused Sumitra's offer, in response to the humiliation he had caused the organisation. Sumitra's rejection of the deal offered by Muhammadiyah in the second election had also made Muhammadiyah

question his real intentions. If Sumitra was only playing games to win the election, he would probably refuse to give anything to Muhammadiyah if he won.

Muhammadiyah now had to decide what they would do in the third election. Even if they did not participate, someone would be elected. One leader proposed working with the Catholic candidate. This proposal led to a serious debate within the meeting. Does Islam allow Muslims to vote for a non-Muslim? One group insisted that Muhammadiyah members could choose a non-Muslim leader as long as the leader provided good services for Muslims. It is better to choose a non-Muslim leader who is good, rather than elect a bad Muslim as a leader. Muhammadiyah in Basin was thus faced with these choices: electing a non-Muslim who could be good or a Muslim who would be a disaster for Muhammadiyah.

The dispute was settled by the Muhammadiyah leaders, who said that the election of the *kepala desa* was a worldly affair. In this case, the Prophet Muhammad guided Muslims by saying, "That you know better about your own worldly affairs". Muhammadiyah thought that the election would be better if their votes were given to the Catholic candidate who was willing to cooperate with Muhammadiyah. Although he was not a Muslim, his attitude was better than the Muslim candidate (Sumitra), who had employed every method, such as using a *dukun* and bribery, to win the election. On the basis of these reasons, Muhammadiyah agreed to give a mandate to its representatives to negotiate with Wakidi about the election.

When Muhammadiyah came to Wakidi, he accepted its offer without hesitation. He willingly agreed to give one fourth of his *bengkok* to Muhammadiyah. Although this meant that Wakidi would only receive three quarter of the *bengkok*, he would not suffer. This is because the *bengkok* was large and was located on very fertile soil. Wakidi knew that

he could not win the election alone, as his people could not compete with Sumitra's voters. Muhammadiyah members had increased in number. A lot of Sumitra's voters had come back to Muhammadiyah, as they knew that Muhammadiyah had sincerely struggled for the sake of the community.

Knowing that Muhammadiyah was going to join forces with Wakidi's group, Sumitra's group became worried about its chances. Sumitra knew that he could not win against Muhammadiyah members and Wakidi's group. Therefore, he asked his brother, who was influential in government, to cancel the election. His brother was angry, since he had no good reason to do this. He then said to Sumitra that he was not good enough to become a village chief. He had been given a chance by Muhammadiyah to win the election, but had rejected it. His brother therefore gave up trying to help Sumitra.

In an easy election then, Wakidi was elected. Catholics and Muhammadiyah celebrated together. This cooperation became a good foundation for creating harmony (*rukun*) in the community, especially among Muhammadiyah and Catholic members. When the Catholics asked Muhammadiyah for permission to build a church, Muhammadiyah gave permission to build it in the neighbouring village.

5.2 The Election of *Kepala Desa* in 1988

Wakidi's period in office ended in 1986 in an unfortunate way. He was discharged by the government before he had finished his term of duty on allegations of corruption in KUD (village cooperative) dealings during the introduction of electricity into the village (*listrik masuk desa*). He was then replaced by the secretary of the village as caretaker for another two years to complete the period to 1988.

When the government decided that an election would be held in the middle of 1988, enthusiasm in the village rose. After their experience in

the 1982 election, Muhammadiyah had become an important power for individuals who aspired to win office. As expected, there were many people who were willing to stand for election. At least fifteen candidates attached themselves to Muhammadiyah.

When Muhammadiyah held a meeting to discuss tactics and arrangements for the election, the candidates attended. Muhammadiyah then easily made arrangements for their selection. As in the 1982 election, Muhammadiyah ranked candidates this time before the announcement of the results of the test. The candidates already knew their rank before the test. However, in this election the two top seeds were youths. Because of their high ranking, the Muhammadiyah youth set up a committee, called "*Panitia Sembilan*" (the committee of nine) as it consisted of nine members. This committee worked together with the committee set up by the Muhammadiyah "*Panitia Pemenangan*", to win the election for Muhammadiyah's candidate.

When the results of the test were announced, five candidates had passed, two of them members of Muhammadiyah: Yayuk Sugiman and Dalhadi. Yayuk had been ranked third and Dalhadi tenth. It was clear that Dalhadi should resign, as he had a lower ranking than Yayuk. However, some leaders of Muhammadiyah asked the two to negotiate so that both would be satisfied. They asked Yayuk to give a little compensation for Dalhadi's resignation. This suggestion was rejected since the decision that the candidate with the lower ranking would resign to give a better chance to the one with a higher rank had been made in the meeting before the announcement of the test results. The matter of compensation had not been discussed in the meeting.

After the negotiations between Yayuk and Dalhadi broke down, Dalhadi resigned from Muhammadiyah, and announced he would run for election as an individual. Some of his family also resigned in protest

and disappointment with the agreement. The mainstream of Muhammadiyah, however, still supported Yayuk's candidacy. As an organisation, Muhammadiyah would formally vote for Yayuk. However, some members, especially those who had supported giving compensation to Dalhadi, secretly voted for Dalhadi.

While in 1982 there were four candidates, in the 1988 election there were only three. Once again Sumitra passed the test. His brother had struggled hard for his success. According to one informant, Sumitra's brother said that this election was the last chance for Sumitra. If he could not win this time, it would be better for him to forget about applying for the next election. Muhammadiyah did not see him as a major challenger any more, as his tactics and his personality were known. When Dalhadi resigned from Muhammadiyah's arrangement, there was no fear at all for a split in the election. Muhammadiyah had strong support from the Catholic group in return for Muhammadiyah's support for them at the last election.

The tension in the 1988 election was not as high as in the 1982 election. There were several reasons for this. Firstly, the Muhammadiyah organisation had developed fast since the success of the 1982 election. With the money they obtained from the *bengkok*, Muhammadiyah had been able to build a school and establish a *koperasi*, so people could see and feel a benefit from Muhammadiyah activities. Secondly, since Sumitra had lost in the 1982 election, he had created serious tension with the mainstream Muhammadiyah in the village. For example, with his brother's influence he built a mosque to oppose the older central mosque. Furthermore, he encouraged people in the mosque to follow religious organisations other than Muhammadiyah. In response, some people who had formerly supported Sumitra returned to Muhammadiyah. Thirdly, as more youths had attended school, some even having gone to universities

in major cities, their concern about and understanding of the importance of organisation in dealing with social affairs had increased. It was difficult for Sumitra to use money again to influence people to vote for him.

As predicted, Yayuk won the election, and she became the first woman to lead the village. Some Muslims, especially those who voted for Sumitra, questioned the legitimacy of a woman leader on the basis of Islamic law. They said that a woman cannot lead men, because men are stronger. Therefore, Yayuk's leadership could not be accepted according to the Islamic *Syari'a*. Giving a vote to her was the same as committing a sinful act. Muhammadiyah leaders, however, replied that there is no definite or written text in the Qur'an or the Sunnah which bans women from becoming leaders. It is true that in the Qur'an one verse mentions that men have more power than women, but this does not forbid a woman becoming a leader. Furthermore, the verse carries the message that men should take care of their women, as God has given men more power. On the basis of this argument, Muhammadiyah supported the leadership of Yayuk.

5.3 The Election of *Kepala Desa* in 1998

Yayuk's position as village chief ended in March 1996 after she had ruled Basin for eight years, the maximum period. However, because Indonesia was going to conduct a national general election in May 1997 to elect members of parliament, Yayuk's position was extended until the next year. The postponement of the election, villagers argued, was aimed at winning support from the incumbent village chief for Golkar, the ruling party. Golkar had never won in Basin, the Islamic Development Party (PPP) was always the winner.

The election of village chief in 1998 was a special event because of the political atmosphere during the election. At the national level, the strong and massive student demonstration demanding the resignation of

President Soeharto had influenced the political atmosphere in the village. Moreover, the chaos during the campaign before the national election in 1997 intensified interest in the election of the village chief. As a stronghold of the PPP, Basin rejected any intervention from the government to change their votes. Therefore, when Golkar's supporters marched to the village to show their strength and huge numbers, Basin villagers threw stones and the like at the marching campaign. At night, Golkar's supporters, villagers believed, retaliated by burning houses located in the border hamlet. The intense situation forced the youth to guard their hamlets for several weeks.

In this furious situation, a rumour spread in the Basin hamlet that the people who had burnt their houses a couple nights previously came from Nglarang hamlet. This was intended to create anger between Basin villagers, who were Muslims, and Nglarang villagers, who were Catholics. However, because traditionally there was no history of conflict between these two hamlets, and there had been marital relationships between them, the rumour did not spark a serious conflict. Both hamlets believed that the affair had been inflamed by the army to create conflict.

These two social environments coloured the election of the village chief in Basin. In terms of organisation, Muhammadiyah, as seen from the different stands taken by its elites in supporting the candidates, was not as solid as before. However, some Muhammadiyah elite still believed that the rumour could be a useful means to win the election. Therefore, supported by its youth organisation, Muhammadiyah supported Yayuk, the incumbent village chief. Confident of support from Muhammadiyah, Yayuk's supporters had many reasons to believe they could win the election. Yayuk was also confident because of the number of candidates who passed the test selection held by the government.

Of the thirty people who took the preselection test, only five candidates were approved; two from Basin hamlet—Yayuk and Siroj, two from Nglarang hamlet—Jarot and Dapik, and one from Kebonarum hamlet—Suparjo. Because of the population composition (Basin hamlet had 2,388 people, Nglarang had 1,069, Kebonarum had 410, and Sambeng hamlet had 150) if half the people of Basin hamlet voted for Yayuk and the other half for Siroj, the candidate from Basin would win. This is because Nglarang and Kebonarum, as they had their own candidates, would not have had enough people to outvote the Basin people. In personal qualities, Yayuk had many advantages. The people in Basin, who are strong Muslims, would not tolerate Siroj's background because of the gossip surrounding his affairs with women.

The story of Siroj's bad marriage had dominated village gossip for several years. After the death of his wife, he married a wealthy widow from Klaten who owned a big store. For people in Klaten, the notoriety of this widow became public knowledge. The marriage did not last long, it survived only two months. After his failure in the second marriage, he had a relationship with the wife of a villager working in Jakarta. This woman worked as a housemaid for Siroj's family. Amid the stories of this relationship, he got married for the third time to a widow introduced to him by a friend. These stories, in the mind of Yayuk's supporters, would reduce his chance of winning the election.

According to Siroj's supporters, the five candidates who passed the test were actually part of the game plan designed by Yayuk's husband, who had close connections to the government.⁴ Two candidates from Nglarang hamlet had been passed in order to split the votes in Nglarang, and one candidate from Kebonarum hamlet was selected to attract the

⁴ Asked about that game plan, Bambang, Yayuk's husband, answered, "If I had such power to influence the test, I would have failed all candidates so my wife could stand as an only candidate. It was a false allegation."

votes of that hamlet. By accepting Siroj, with his unsavoury background, Yayuk's husband believed that his wife would have more support. Yayuk's husband denied any involvement in passing the candidates.

However, Yayuk's group did not consider the political atmosphere at the time of the election. The strong and massive student demonstration demanding President Soeharto step down influenced the way in which villagers viewed the election. They regarded Yayuk, the incumbent leader, as the symbol of Soeharto's domination in the village. Therefore, they demanded that the village chief should be new. In addition, Yayuk's family, especially her children, were regarded as arrogant people who had forgotten their relationship with the villagers. Born into a wealthy family, Yayuk's children behaved like a wealthy family in the big cities, as seen by their clothes and reading materials. For example, her youngest daughter, who was brilliant, was sent to study in a popular high school in Yogyakarta. In Yogyakarta, she rented an expensive house with a housemaid ready to serve her needs. Considering herself as a modern student (*pelajar moderen*), she never interacted with village students. For ordinary villagers, this kind of lifestyle was a bit excessive.

However, the most significant factor causing Yayuk's defeat was the loosening of Muhammadiyah domination in the village. This was seen in the different ways its elite articulated their support for certain candidates. Many people had loosened their ties with Muhammadiyah, although in religious and social activities they still supported the organisation. Furthermore, the increasing number of people who practised religious practices once rejected by Muhammadiyah was a sign of the decreasing role of Muhammadiyah. Therefore, when Muhammadiyah put forward a political agenda, for example supporting a candidate, there was little response. As a result, Yayuk did not gain many votes despite the fact that Muhammadiyah was behind her. Ironically, the number of votes for

Yayuk was third behind Siroj and Dapik. Siroj won the 1998 election in a surprise win, meaning he would be village chief for eight years.

When asked about Siroj's victory, a supporter of Siroj described it as follows:

We supported Pak Siroj not because he gave us money. Even in the meeting to discuss strategy, we often brought our own cigarettes. (In Basin a cigarette is a symbol of a relationship. It also symbolises a simple gift for people.) That was the strong aspect for our group. It was different from Yayuk's group, which had been supported by a lot of money. A lot of people who supported Pak Siroj felt the same thing: that we needed a change. We needed a new village chief. We knew that Pak Siroj had bad stories behind him. Hopefully, after becoming village chief he would change his behaviour, so people do not ascribe him a bad name. At that time, if there had been another candidate better than Pak Siroj, we might have supported him/her. The most important thing was that we needed a change.

After the election, there was great tension between Siroj's supporters and Yayuk's. This was still evident when they celebrated *Idul Fitri*, the end of the fasting month. Usually villagers in Basin mark their celebration by visiting families and friends, asking forgiveness and praying for success in life. Some of Yayuk's supporters did not want to visit Siroj's supporters. However, after their painful feeling of loss diminished, the tension disappeared.

Sambeng villagers also took part in supporting the move to challenge Muhammadiyah. Instead of going to Masjid Makmur, where most members of Muhammadiyah held Friday prayers, they went to Masjid Takwa for their Friday prayers. Although the youths of Sambeng had a close relationship with their counterparts in Basin, the elders voted for Sumintro. And in 1998, Sambeng villagers voted for Siroj who symbolised an opposition to the hard line of Muhammadiyah. At the last national general election in 1999, Sambeng villagers voted for PDI-P (Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle) led by Megawati Soekarnoputri, the daughter of the first president, Soekarno, who founded the PNI (Indonesian National Party). Therefore, when PDI-P was declared the winning party in Basin, surprising everybody, particularly

Muhammadiyah members, Sambeng villagers celebrated the victory by conducting *slametan* and *wayangan*, their old practices.

The implication of the election for religious orientation was apparent. The failure of Muhammadiyah gave confidence to people who rejected Muhammadiyah practices. As a result, the number of people who consistently promoted religious practices outside Muhammadiyah increased. The change of religious orientation was more apparent when, in 1999, Indonesia held a national multi-party general election. Basin had for so long been a stronghold of the Islamic party. However, in the 1999 election, PDI-P, supported in Basin mainly by Catholics, Javanised Muslims and ex-members of PKI (the Communist Party), won the election. PAN (the National Mandate Party), supported by Muhammadiyah, lost the election.

6. The Implications of the Election

Muhammadiyah's success in Basin, in social, political and religious affairs, prompted people to label the village a Muhammadiyah village. In social affairs the success of Muhammadiyah gave its members confidence to enter areas of secular life such as trade, education and other professional work. In political affairs, with the success of winning the election of the village chief, Muhammadiyah was considered the most powerful organisation in the village. In religious affairs, Muhammadiyah succeeded in influencing, practically or ideologically, the lives of people in Basin. Basin people who emigrated became a channel for spreading Muhammadiyah into other areas.

However, behind all these successes, Muhammadiyah faced a crucial problem of maintaining unity among its members. Basin village can traditionally be divided into a number of groups which are sometimes involved in conflict. Before the coming of Muhammadiyah,

several conflicts occurred. In the early days of Muhammadiyah, the groups continued to compete with each other in religious activities. However, Muhammadiyah changed the way in which the groups were divided. In the old days, they were divided on the basis of *kondangan* groups. Muhammadiyah then divided them into *jama'ah* groups (congregations), meaning that the groups were divided on the basis of the *langgar* people usually went to for their prayers. Groups became known as *jama'ah* of *langgar Barakah*, *Arafat*, *Alfalah*, *Mujahidin* and so forth. Although the groups changed, conflicts among them still remained.

These conflicts can be seen more clearly in the election of the village chief. Some people, who were formerly Muhammadiyah members and were then ignored by Muhammadiyah on allegations of corruption, were supported by Sumitra to oppose the hegemony of Muhammadiyah in the village. By converting a *langgar* into a great mosque, called Masjid Takwa, this group became firmly established. Previously, Basin had only one mosque, Masjid Makmur, located in the southern part of Basin. This was regarded as the central mosque. As such, Masjid Makmur was used for *Jum'ah* prayers and for collecting *zakat*. However, after the building of Masjid Takwa, Basin had two central mosques. Friday prayers and the collection of *zakat* were conducted in both. This division of activities was regarded as a sign of people's intention to separate themselves from Muhammadiyah control.

On the other hand, the establishment of the new mosque can be seen in a positive light since Masjid Makmur, the central mosque, could not accommodate everyone for Friday prayers. Some people had to pray outside. Therefore, the new mosque, Masjid Takwa, provided an alternative mosque for Friday prayers. Similarly, in the collection of *zakat*, the older central mosque was helped by the new mosque. For these reasons, some people argued that the establishment of the new mosque

helped Muhammadiyah to spread Islam in the village and surrounding areas.

However, the intention to separate from Muhammadiyah could be seen clearly when the group in the new mosque conducted religious practices which were different from Muhammadiyah. In public religious lectures (*pengajian*), rather than inviting Muhammadiyah's religious teachers and people, the new mosque deliberately invited teachers and people who were affiliated with NU, the Islamic organisation following traditional Islam. Therefore, when there was *pengajian* in the new mosque, those attending were not Basin residents, but people from outside. Furthermore, Masjid Takwa deliberately reinvented practices that had been banned by Muhammadiyah, for example *tahlilan*, *slametan* and *berjanjen*. These activities were regarded by Muhammadiyah as open attacks on Muhammadiyah. Hence, the establishment of Masjid Takwa was viewed as having a political intention, that is, to decrease the influence of Muhammadiyah in the village.

Muhammadiyah hardliners intended to discuss the new religious orientation with the leaders of Masjid Takwa. These people argued that Muhammadiyah should act to restrain the followers of the new mosque in order to avoid tension between them and Muhammadiyah members. Other Muhammadiyah members who maintained that any provocation would only drive them away from Muhammadiyah rejected this suggestion. These people believed that the separation of the people of Masjid Takwa was actually caused by their loss in the election of the village chief. Therefore, the wisest course for Muhammadiyah to follow was to wait for their next action. Moreover, they believed that when the pain of the loss diminished, they would come back to Muhammadiyah.

One year after the 1988 election, some people of Masjid Takwa returned to Muhammadiyah. The reasons for this was that they felt that

Masjid Takwa was influenced by some individuals who did not like Muhammadiyah and wanted to decrease its power in Basin. These individuals, they argued, did not have a truly religious motivation, but were driven by hatred and enmity toward Muhammadiyah. Those who came back to Muhammadiyah felt that Muhammadiyah had done many things for the village, especially in education. If there were no Muhammadiyah in the village there would be no school in Basin. The unity of Muhammadiyah in Basin should therefore be maintained and preserved.

As the support for Masjid Takwa faded, its original supporters no longer had the influence or power to impose their ideas in opposition to Muhammadiyah. The strong support they received from people, some of them previously prominent figures of Muhammadiyah, could not be maintained. Furthermore, the support from "people above the river" (*wong duwur kali*) who were the main strength for the group, gradually left Masjid Takwa, since no more material support came from Sumitra's family. Having lost these two important factions, Masjid Takwa could not compete with the Muhammadiyah organisation.

Although as a group their members diminished, the emotional ties among the Masjid Takwa group remained strong. In small gatherings of members, they continued practising religious practices different from Muhammadiyah. In celebrating important events in the Islamic calendar, they followed the common practices of traditional Islam. As Masjid Takwa could no longer be used as the base for their practices, because its youth rejected them, the group carried on its practices in members' houses. As a result, the emotional ties among the members became stronger.

Since the group was no longer a threat, the members of Muhammadiyah no longer discussed the destruction of the group of

Masjid Takwa. Instead Muhammadiyah urged its members to participate in their practices. For example, Muhammadiyah allowed those members who could afford it to perform *slametan*. The *slametan*, however, had to be conducted in accordance with the ideas of Muhammadiyah. By compromising over such matters, Muhammadiyah leaders argued that the reasons for Masjid Takwa's separation from Muhammadiyah would be eliminated.

Thus the events in Basin provide a clear window to see how people convert to a certain religious orientation. Although during the first period of their attachment to Islam, people did not associate with a particular formal Islamic orientation, the religious practices in Basin indicate that they followed or practised Islam in line with traditional Islam. Mbah Kaji Maksum, the prominent religious teacher there, taught and directed people to practise Islam in accordance with ways developed in *pesantren* where he had studied. According to Dhofier (1985), *pesantren* traditions have become the main institution preserving the views of traditional Islam in Java. When Muhammadiyah came to the village, with its sympathetic attitudes to social and economic activities, religious practices were changed or at least involved with new values. Within a short time and in a peaceful way—without any significant conflicts—Muhammadiyah was able to change religious practices in Basin. After engaging in political affairs in the election of the village chief, Muhammadiyah faced a new challenge from a group which lost the election. This group embraced a new way of practising Islam, which differed from Muhammadiyah, to proclaim its presence.

The acceptance of Muhammadiyah in the village was based on its contribution in helping people to cope with their social and economic problems. By establishing schools and economic institutions Muhammadiyah attracted people to the organisation. People's acceptance

of Muhammadiyah, on this evidence, was propelled by social and economic factors. It was not determined by their interest in Muhammadiyah views on religion. Only after several years were Muhammadiyah's ideas on religious matters fully accepted by the people. This is one of many reasons why people easily turned away from Muhammadiyah in the election of the village chief. When there is a person or institution that can provide material benefit to the people, it is easy for them to join that organisation.

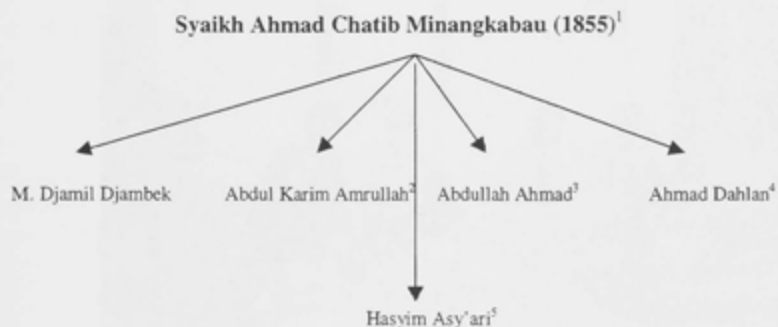
People's eventual attachment to Muhammadiyah was more because of the fact that Muhammadiyah had managed to dominate religious discourse in the village. This also shows that their alliances with opposition groups were more motivated by social and political sentiment than religious beliefs. Therefore, when Muhammadiyah adopted their practices, or at least tolerated them by allowing its members to participate, opposition weakened.

The fluidity in religious orientation in Basin is because there have been no charismatic leaders. There is no tomb of a person considered to be the *pundhen* of the village. In the old days when villagers conducted *slametan*, these were not held in a particular place regarded as the sacred place. Of course there were some people they regarded as leaders, such as Mbah Kaji Maksum, who was considered as the religious leader of Muslims in the village. Mbah Gerobag was regarded as a leader for Javanised Islam in the village. There was also an elite group in Muhammadiyah. However, it seems that these leaders did not have a deep and long lasting influence. A leader has to be more than a manager or official who could be dismissed. For example, when a leader of Muhammadiyah persuaded villagers to vote for Golkar, his efforts did not gain much success. He even had to resign from the committee because of his action.

The success of Muhammadiyah in spreading its Islamic reformism in the village was accepted without any resistance by the majority of villagers, because there was no one who could lead the resistance. When some people accepted Muhammadiyah, other people followed the move. On the other hand, when some villagers started to leave Muhammadiyah, there was no leader who could stop the move. And when a lot of villagers started to perform old Islamic practices, other villagers followed their example.

This change signalled a change in the way modernists tend to practise Islam. The involvement of Muhammadiyah members in religious practices categorised as belonging to traditional Islam, such as *tahlil*, *Laras Madya* and *tasawuf*, was a clear change in modernist religiosity. More and more members of Muhammadiyah nowadays practise *tasawuf*; and even some of them perform *ziarah* to *wali*'s tomb (Jamhari, 1995). Whatever the reason behind these changes, whether as described by Kim (1996) such changes were propelled by the impulse to make Islam more acceptable or in the case of Basin where the change was prompted by strong opposition, these adaptations can be seen as a part of a religious endeavour to find the right understanding of Islam. Such changes, in turn, have also influenced the religious practices of traditional Islam. In *tasawuf*, for example, Azra (1992) has argued that the accommodation between *shari'a* and *tasawuf* had caused changes in *tasawuf* practices. In the new trend of *tasawuf*, popularly called neo-Sufism, practice and understanding are renewed by eliminating ascetic and metaphysical reasoning, and are supported by additional orthodox rationales. The new *tasawuf* also gives more stress to the moral, ethical and self-control aspect of *tasawuf* and rejects the excessive practices that may turn Sufism into a cult.

Figure 1



¹ He went to Mecca in 1876, and became the *imam* of the *Syafi'i* school (*Mazhab Syafi'i*). Although he allowed his students to read Muhammad Abduh's articles published in *Al-Manaar*, a magazine advocating modernist ideas, he did not agree with Abduh's ideas. On the other hand, he also rejected the practice of *tarekat*.

² He established an Islamic school in Padang called *Thawalib*, which used a modern classical method. He is the father of Hamka, a distinguished *ulama* of the 1970s and 1980s.

³ He established the *Adabiyah* school in West Sumatra to promote modernist ideas in Padang. He strongly rejected the practice of *tarekat*.

⁴ He is the founder of Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta. He followed the modernist arguments in establishing Islamic schools.

⁵ He established an important *pesantren* in Tebuireng and became the leader of NU, a traditional Islamic organisation. Unlike other students of Ahmad Chatib who rejected *tarekat*, Hasyim Asy'ari defended the practice by combining a strong basis from *syari'a*. Therefore, he used both *syari'a* and *tarekat* in his *pesantren*. His defence of *tarekat* was influenced by his other teachers such as Nawawi from Banten who tolerated the practice of *tarekat* as long as it does not deviate from Islamic principles. It seems that Asy'ari studied Islam in its various aspects, including *shari'a* and *tasawuf* (Dhofier, 1985:8).



Youths in religious discussion



Satgas (civil guards) of Muhammadiyah youths guards the convoy of *haji*



Muhammadiyah BTM (Islamic bank)



Distributing scarification



Bringing food to *Sadranan* (a *slametan* welcoming the *Ramadhan*)



Pak Tugi, the former leader of Muhammadiyah youth in Basin joined the *slametan*



Food brought to *sadranan* which consists mainly of fruit



One year birthday of the grandson of an elite of Muhammadiyah in Basin

Chapter V

Riyaya Angkawiyu: A Symbol of Local Islam

○ God the Almighty and the Powerful,
strengthen us and all Muslims
○ God the Almighty and the Provider of wealth (rizki),
Provide us and all believers with prosperity.¹

1. Introduction

The *Angkawiyu* is a ceremony involving the distribution of *apem*—a pancake-like cake—in commemoration of the life of Kyai Ageng Gribig, a pious *wali* buried in Jatinom. The ceremony is performed as a reminder of his special ways of teaching Islam. The *apem* used in the *Angkawiyu*, of which as many as three tons can be collected in one ceremony, is made from rice flour, red sugar and coconut milk, and is fried in a circular shape with a little cooking oil. Participants strive to obtain as much *apem* thrown from the mosque as they can. As it is believed that the *apem* obtained from the *Angkawiyu* contains the *baraka* (blessing) of Kyai Ageng Gribig, it is not consumed. However, it is taken as a spiritual symbol which can be used for several purposes, such as a crop fertiliser, as an amulet in business or a means of success in study.

The *Angkawiyu* is a sacred ceremony that attracts many people, not only from the Jatinom region but also from other areas. However, participants in the *Angkawiyu* interpret their coming to the *Angkawiyu* differently. Some regard it as “*ziarah agung*”, meaning a day for visiting

¹ Ya Qawiyu, Ya 'Aziiz, qawuwinna wal muslimiin, Ya Qawiyu Ya Razzaaq, warzuqana wal mu'miniin.

Kyai Ageng Gribig. As it is understood by many Javanese people, *ziarah* means showing respect and a continuous relationship with the person buried at a particular place. Moreover, *ziarah* is a spiritual way to obtain *baraka* through the help of a *wali* (Jamhari, 1998). Other participants consider their coming to the *Angkawiyu* as celebrating "*riyaya*", a special day similar to *riyaya Idul Fitri*, celebrating the end of fasting, and the *riyaya Idul Qurban*, celebrating the *hajj* to Mecca and commemorating the sacrifice of the Prophet Abraham. Some others articulate their presence in the *Angkawiyu* as attending "*apeman*", meaning getting *apem*. Recently, some people, especially those who practise Sufism, visit the *Angkawiyu* as a religious gathering for their *dhikr*.

The celebration of the *Angkawiyu* provides a forum for people with different religious orientations to gather in the same place. The *Angkawiyu* certainly contains Islamic traditions, which can be seen from its religious practices. On the other hand, some aspects of local beliefs are also present in the celebration. Therefore, the *Angkawiyu* is an important event in which to observe the relation between Islam and tradition. Moreover, it is also a significant religious practice through which to observe people's understanding of the nature of popular Islam in Java. Since Kyai Ageng Gribig is the central figure of the celebration, I will explore the genealogy of Kyai Ageng Gribig based on written and oral local traditions. Describing Kyai Ageng Gribig's genealogy is crucial to understanding how participants characterise his personage which then influences the way in which people honour him. Furthermore, this chapter will discuss the history of the *Angkawiyu* itself, from the point of view of local people and some written texts that are available. Finally, at the end of the chapter, I will discuss the visions underpinning those various interpretations of the *Angkawiyu*. On the basis of these explorations, popular Islam in Java, especially in Klaten, will then be discussed.

2. History and Identity of Kyai Ageng Gribig

According to local oral narratives, Kyai Ageng Gribig came from Tuban in East Java. He was descended from a royal family of Majapahit and he obtained Islamic knowledge from Sunan Bonang, an important Javanese *wali* from East Java. Kyai Ageng Gribig converted to Islam after he lost a debate about spiritual wisdom with Sunan Bonang. The latter then asked him to spread Islam in Central Java. After wandering through several regions in Central Java, he settled in Jatinom, a region near Mount Merapi.

For people in Jatinom and its surrounding regions, the presence of Kyai Ageng Gribig has not only physical but also spiritual meaning. Kyai Ageng Gribig was regarded not only as a *wali* but also a *pundhen*, meaning the ancestor who first opened and developed the region. Local stories about the name of Jatinom, deriving from *jati* (mahogany) and *enom* (young), the tree where Kyai Ageng Gribig performed most of his meditation, indicate the special relationship between the region and Kyai Ageng Gribig.

For Muslims in Klaten area, Kyai Ageng Gribig was an important pious Muslim as he was believed to have brought Islam to the region. The presence of Islam in the region can not be disassociated from his role. However, there was another *wali* involved in the Islamisation of Klaten. In the southern part of Klaten, Sunan Tembayat, known also as Ki Gede Pandanarang, buried in Bayat, was the prominent *wali* spreading Islam there (Sastronaryatmo, 1962). Sunan Tembayat spread Islam in the southern part, whereas Kyai Ageng Gribig worked in the northern part of Klaten. From the number of visitors coming for *ziarah*, and the magnitude of both graveyards, Sunan Tembayat was probably the more visited and more famous. According to local narratives in Bayat and in Jatinom, Kyai Ageng Gribig was a descendant of the last ruler of Majapahit who studied

Islam with Sunan Tembayat, after obtaining an introductory knowledge from Sunan Bonang (Darusuprpta et al., 1974:99). Sunan Tembayat then asked Kyai Ageng Gribig to spread Islam in regions close to Mount Merapi.

According to tradition, Kyai Ageng Gribig, during his life and after his death, played a significant role in the determination of religious identity for people in Jatinom and the surrounding regions. The respect given to Kyai Ageng Gribig can be seen from the many people who come to the celebration of the *Angkawiyu* asking for *baraka*. In addition, as Kyai Ageng Gribig was also known for his spiritual power which could be used as an internal weapon for self defence (*kadigdayaan*)—many people have come to his graveyard to obtain that knowledge. In an area close to a cave where Kyai Ageng Gribig meditated, there were three tiger statues which seemed to be guarding the cave. According to *juru kunci* (custodians of the tomb of Kyai Ageng Gribig), these three tigers came down from the hill of Mount Merapi to serve Kyai Ageng Gribig. The ability of Kyai Ageng Gribig to tame the tigers was one of the many signs of his extraordinary spiritual power. Therefore, it is understandable if many participants attend the celebration of the *Angkawiyu* with different intentions. Some participants come to the *Angkawiyu* for *baraka* from the *wali*, whereas others expect to gain spiritual power from the *Angkawiyu*. There are also many visitors who attended the *Angkawiyu* to show respect to Kyai Ageng Gribig as a *pundhen* like descendants do to an ancestor.

Because many participants come to the *Angkawiyu*, the district government of Klaten (Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Klaten) took control of the celebration in 1990. The *Angkawiyu* was taken as a religious cultural tourism project to attract domestic and foreign tourists. Previously, the *Angkawiyu* was organised by local officials and descendants of Kyai Ageng Gribig assisted by villagers. However, after

the district government took over, the *Angkawiyu* was organised by officials from the government. Although the involvement of the government has increased promotion and has brought many visitors, it has lessened the spontaneous participation of the people. Villagers, especially villagers from Jatinom who were traditionally involved in the celebration, felt that they were being neglected. The government monopolised the preparation of *apem*, which had previously been donated by villagers. Currently, the villagers complain that the *Angkawiyu* has become more of a tourist attraction than a people's religious celebration.

In view of the above, the *Angkawiyu* is an interesting phenomenon through which to observe the dynamic response of religious practices facing social and cultural changes. For several decades, a traditional religious practice such as the *Angkawiyu* has faced growing pressure from modernist Muslims who want to purify religious practices from the influence of non-Islamic tradition. Moreover, modernist Muslims claimed that the mystical nature of the *Angkawiyu*, which became the dominant feature of the celebration, has led Muslims to rely too much on supernatural interference in human actions. The main characteristic of Sufi practice in the *Angkawiyu*, reciting *dhikr*—*Ya Qawiyuu Ya 'aziz*—together, has long ago disappeared. The sacred environment of the graveyard of Kyai Ageng Gribig was no longer maintained. There was no longer any friendly greeting from *juru kunci* to welcome visitors.

The most striking change in the *Angkawiyu* was the establishment of a Muhammadiyah school just in front of the Great Mosque (*Masjid Gede*) in Jatinom, the most important centre of the celebration after the tomb of Kyai Ageng Gribig. Previously, the area where the school is now established was used to distribute the *apem*. The *dhikr*, reciting phrases taught by Kyai Ageng Gribig, was also held in that place. After the establishment of the school, the location for the distribution of *apem* was

moved to an area close to the river. The existence of a Muhammadiyah school in the graveyard area might indicate the dominant modernist discourse in Jatinom. This can be seen from the way the custodians of the graveyard reminded visitors about the correct *niyat* during *ziarah*. A *jurukunci* would say to a visitor, "Make a correct intention. Direct your prayers and requests to God solely. Kyai Ageng Gribig was only a pious person, he was not God."

However, a modernist orientation was not a general phenomenon in the *Angkawiyu*. In 1996, there was a great *kaul*, a *pengajian* conducted to commemorate the life of pious people such as *kyai* and *wali*, led by Mbah Muslim, a famous *kyai* from Klaten. In that *kaul*, people recited *dhikr* together while performing *suluk* (rituals of the *tarekat*) at the mosque. There were hundreds of people attending the *kaul*. Mbah Muslim gave a speech reminding people about the necessity to preserve practices left by Kyai Ageng Gribig. "*Ojo pada nganti lalu karo lakune Kyai Ageng Gribig—Do not ever forget [Sufi] practices taught by Kyai Ageng Gribig*", said Mbah Muslim at the *kaul*.

It is true that the identity of Kyai Ageng Gribig, as *wali*, local ruler and *pundhen*, was interpreted in accordance with social context. For some people, the presence of Kyai Ageng Gribig has to accord with the changing social and cultural environment. The growing pressure of Muhammadiyah in Jatinom has caused changes in the explanation of his existence. Since the *Angkawiyu* is interpreted in a pluralistic manner, the changing interpretations will be a perennial aspect of discourse on the *Angkawiyu*, facilitating an accommodation to change.

3. The Genealogy of Kyai Ageng Gribig

As at all sacred places of pious Muslims in Java, there are various genealogical stories about those who are buried in the tomb. For example,

the genealogy of Sunan Tembayat, a *wali* buried in Klaten, is told in many stories (Jamhari, 1995). In one tradition, Sunan Tembayat is described as the descendant of Brawijaya, the last king of Majapahit, whereas other stories describe him as an Adipati who migrated from Semarang. The reason underpinning the various genealogies is to stress the sacredness of the *wali*. This means that various identities of the *wali* are regarded as an indication of his spiritual power.

The genealogy of Kyai Ageng Gribig does not differ from this pattern. According to a book published by the committee responsible for preserving the *Angkawiyu* traditions, there are at least four versions of the genealogy of Kyai Ageng Gribig (Sumantri, 1964 [1896]). The compiler of the book said that these versions are taken from various stories maintained by people in Jatinom.

Version 1. The tradition maintains that Kyai Ageng Gribig was a fifth generation descendant of Brawijaya. Kyai Ageng Gribig's relation to Brawijaya is traced through Raden Mas Guntur, one of Brawijaya's sons by his wife Cempaka, who retreated from palace life. Raden Mas Guntur went to Tuban, a region on the northern coast of East Java, to pursue spiritual wisdom. In Tuban he changed his name to Wasi Jolodoro. He became a village leader (*hajar*) at Bang Wetan where he met Sunan Bonang, an influential *wali* who propagated Islam in the coastal area of East Java. In their discussions on spiritual wisdom, Wasi Jolodoro felt that his spiritual knowledge was far from complete compared to Sunan Bonang's. Therefore, Wasi Jolodoro converted to Islam, and he changed his name to Seh Wasibagno.

Sunan Bonang urged Seh Wasibagno to move to Ngibig, a village in southern Tuban, to propagate Islam there. Seh Wasibagno had three children: Seh Pakalangan, Seh Blacakbilo, and Seh Panganti. His youngest son, Seh Panganti, replaced him as a religious teacher, and took the title of

Seh Wasibagno II. Seh Wasibagno II had only one son, who loved the poor and the needy so much that people honoured him as Seh Pekermiskin, the master of the poor and the needy.

Seh Pekermiskin or Seh Wasibagno III had two children, Kyai Ageng Gribig and another son, about whom nothing is recounted. According to local traditions the unknown son married the daughter of Bathara Katong, a regional chief (*bupati*) in Ponorogo. Kyai Ageng Gribig had a son who was also named Seh Wasibagno, but he changed his name to Kyai Ageng Gribig Timur. Seh Wasibagno Timur emigrated to Jatinom Klaten after his parents died. He established a village and converted the people of Jatinom to Islam. According to local traditions, the name Gribig is an abbreviation of Giri and Ngibig. Giri is the spiritual centre of Islam for East Java, and Ngibig is the region assigned to Kyai Ageng Gribig by Sunan Bonang when he converted to Islam.

Version 2. The second version of the genealogical line of Kyai Ageng Gribig also starts from Brawijaya. However, in this version Kyai Ageng Gribig is linked more closely to Brawijaya. Kyai Ageng Gribig is regarded as a third generation descendant of Brawijaya through his son RM Guntur, who was also known as Kyai Ujung Awar-Awar. RM Guntur had a child named Pangantibagno who married the daughter of Giri's ruler. After the marriage, Pangantibagno moved to Ngibig, the same region as in version 1, and changed his name to Kyai Ageng Ngibig, who then had a son named Wasibagno or Kyai Ageng Gribig, who migrated to Jatinom.

Version 3. The genealogical lines of this version draw connections still closer to Brawijaya. Version 3 states that Kyai Ageng Gribig was the second generation descendant of Brawijaya. Unlike the first and the second versions, the third version draws the link through Brawijaya's son Joko Dholog (Brawijaya's 101st son). This version is maintained by the

present descendants of Kyai Ageng Gribig in Jatinom. The *juru kunci* tells this version to visitors.

According to the story of this *juru kunci*, Joko Dholog was still a boy, five years old, when the war between Majapahit and Demak broke out. A son of Brawijaya, Raden Pikukuhan escaped from the war, and ran away from Majapahit bringing along his brother Joko Dholog. In the story, Raden Pikukuhan and Joko Dholog stopped and lived at Kedhung Siwur (Magelang). Joko Dholog was interested in meditating, and had to move from one place to another to find a better place for meditation. One day he meditated at the edge of the Kali Progo (Kedu) River. As Joko Dholog loved to help the poor and the needy, people in the area called him Seh Pekermiskin. After he had enough spiritual knowledge of meditation, he went to Sunan Giri to study Islam. At Giri he married his teacher's daughter, Raden Ayu Lasedah. His father asked them to emigrate to Ngibig Tuban to spread Islam there. They had a child called Seh Wasibagno, who moved to Jatinom and changed his name to Kyai Ageng Gribig.

Version 4. The last version of Kyai Ageng Gribig's line of genealogy is the closest one to Brawijaya. It seems that this version draws on previous versions. Version 4 shortens all previous versions by altering all the names which appear in the genealogy into one name, Kyai Ageng Gribig. Therefore, Kyai Ageng was Brawijaya's son named Joko Dholog, or Seh Wasibagno, or Kyai Ageng Ngibig, as well as Kyai Ageng Gribig in Jatinom. It is clear that version 4 has the most inadequate genealogy. It abbreviates the whole story of the genealogical line of Kyai Ageng Gribig.

These various versions of his genealogy raise several important points that underline the intentions of people who describe the importance of Kyai Ageng Gribig in the landscape of Javanese and Islamic history and culture. Brawijaya is the core point of the various

genealogical trees of Kyai Ageng Gribig. All the genealogical lines begin from Brawijaya. As he was the last ruler of Majapahit before the establishment of the Islamic Kingdom in Demak, the traditions draw a connection to the former "culture" of Java. In other words, the conversion to Islam does not mean cutting the Javanese people off from their old culture.

If we compare this genealogy to other genealogies of pious people in Klaten, Sunan Tembayat for example, it seems that the pattern linking the genealogy to the last ruler of Majapahit², is an obvious attempt to show the continuity of Javanese culture with Islam (Jamhari, 1998:34-35).

The second important point is to link Kyai Ageng Gribig with the *wali* of Java, who were pioneers in spreading Islam in Java. The link to the *wali* has three functions. Firstly, it is meant to associate Kyai Ageng Gribig with the *wali* of Java, the founders of Islam. Secondly, it is intended to link him with the roots of Islam in Java through his study with *wali*. Thirdly, as a Sufi, he had to have a legitimate link to the *wali*. Kyai Ageng Gribig seems to have taught his followers in accordance with Sufi teaching. In the history of Islam in Java many pious people have been killed for their illegitimate teaching of Islam. For example, Seh Siti Jenar was taken to court by the *wali* in Demak to judge his Islamic mystic teachings. A link to the legitimate *wali* of Java is an important part of the intellectual genealogy for a *kyai*.

In summary, Kyai Ageng Gribig has both an ancestral link with Javanese nobility and an intellectual and spiritual link with the Islamic teachers of Java. These two factors are significant for building the persona of Kyai Ageng as both a legitimate religious figure and a noble descendant. As a consequence, Kyai Ageng Gribig is an appropriate *kyai*

² Such genealogical patterns go back to the Babad Tanah Jawi (Fox, 1998).

to be approached for *baraka*. For local villagers, these two connections give them pride, as they are also the inheritors of a noble and pious *kyai*.

4. The Miracles of Kyai Ageng Gribig

From both oral and written traditions, certain key characteristics of Kyai Ageng Gribig emerge. He was a devoted Muslim who obtained his Islamic teachings from Sunan Bonang. He performed Islamic duties and meritorious ritual acts. His descent can be traced back to the last ruler of Majapahit—Brawijaya. His conduct was exemplary in matters small and great. In his behaviour towards his own kin and towards the people, he was a humble and infinitely concerned "servant" of the poor and the needy, and is thus well known as *Seh Pekermiskin*. Above all, he was a learned spiritual teacher and had a command of those "signs" which have not yet lost their sacred power for Javanese culture. These features, all enthusiastically endorsed and witnessed by families and people who admire him, give us a crude outline of what expectations people have of those who sought sacred status.

One of the important features of a visit to Kyai Ageng Gribig is the many stories about his life. For me, the myths pertaining to Kyai Ageng Gribig aim to describe his religiosity. Furthermore, these extraordinary stories are maintained to show his special status in local knowledge and traditions. I will describe a myth about the spiritual power of Kyai Ageng Gribig that provides information about the characteristics of his life.

Kyai Ageng Gribig, one who loves meditation.

In the story about the name of the village "Jatinom", traditions describe how Kyai Ageng Gribig loved to meditate under the young mahogany tree (*jati enom*). Since *jati enom* was a special tree for Kyai Ageng Gribig's spiritual exercise, the village was named after it.

The traditions maintain that Kyai Ageng Gribig also loved to meditate in a cave close to Mount Merapi, which is regarded as a sacred mountain for the Mataram kingdom. Through his serious meditation at Merapi, Kyai Ageng Gribig gained spiritual power. When the ruler of Mataram was saddened by the rebel movement in Palembang, he meditated in the direction of Mount Merapi. Wisdom

gained from the meditation told him that a man of Jatinom who loved to meditate would be able to help the ruler. Sultan Agung, the ruler of Mataram, gave orders to find Kyai Ageng Gribig to ask him whether he would help Mataram to overcome the rebellion in Palembang.

Kyai Ageng Gribig agreed to help Sultan Agung. The leader of the rebellion in Palembang was a devout Muslim. Therefore, Kyai Ageng Gribig asked the leader of the rebellion to have a debate on religious matters. The leader of the rebellion seems to have mastered the normative aspect of Islam, whereas Kyai Ageng Gribig had mastered Sufism. In the debate neither emerged as winner. In the end, the leader of the rebellion asked Kyai Ageng Gribig to show his spiritual power. Kyai Ageng Gribig turned his hat (*blankon*), and suddenly all the people became dizzy. No one could cure this dizziness. Thus, Kyai Ageng Gribig won the competition.

Kyai Ageng Gribig was known as a person who loved to meditate to acquire spiritual wisdom. For the Javanese, spiritual wisdom gives a person two important characteristics. Firstly, it guides the person to the secret of happiness, i.e. a spiritual happiness. In Islamic Sufism, it may lead to the knowing of Allah (*ma'rifah*) or union with Allah (*al-ittihad*). Secondly, spiritual wisdom also causes the person to have a power which is sometimes described as bodily power. In this regard, the Javanese name this power "*ilmu kanuragan*" (the skill of self-defence with spiritual power). These two reasons underlie the magical stories about Kyai Ageng Gribig.

These tales also demonstrate the way in which people picture the relation between Islam and local knowledge, as well as between Sufism and normative Islam. In the myth, Kyai Ageng Gribig is never directly described as a person who performed his Islamic duties, such as praying. On the other hand, he is shown as someone who loved to meditate in the way in which Javanese people do. The use of Mount Merapi as the place for meditation identifies the close relationship between Kyai Ageng Gribig and Javanese traditions. It seems that this myth implies that there was no great change involved in becoming a Muslim. Tales like this are very popular in the history of the *wali* in Java.

The tale also tells of the nature of the Islam that was chosen by the Javanese people, that is Sufism. This is not only because this type of Islam is close to the nature of local beliefs in Java, but also because Sufism provides a richer type of spiritual wisdom. The conquest of Palembang's rebellion was led by a *wali*—a *syari'a*-devout Muslim—demonstrating the triumph of Sufism.

5. The Celebration of the *Angkawiyu*

The *Angkawiyu* is a yearly event celebrated in the month of *Sapar*, the second month of the Javanese-Islamic calendar. The event is held on Friday *Legi*³ within the month of *Sapar*. Since it is held in this month, the *Angkawiyu* is also called *Saparan*. *Apem*, a pancake-like cake, is the most important aspect of the celebration. Donated by villagers from surrounding areas and from the committee, *apem*, of which as much as 3000 kg can be collected, is then distributed to the people by throwing it from a bamboo tower in front of the mosque. The crowd, which may comprise thousands of people, struggle to obtain the *apem*. Because of this *apem*, the *Angkawiyu* is also known as *apeman*, meaning *apem* ceremony.

While the *apem* is thrown to the crowd, *dhikr*, words in praise of God, are chanted by the people. The *dhikr*, such as those noted at the beginning of this chapter, are taken from Asmaa' al-Husnaa, God's good names. These are *dhikr* commonly chanted in Sufi practices. According to the *juru kunci* of the tomb of Kyai Ageng Gribig, the chanting was intended to teach people about God. It is true that people have to struggle in their lives, but they should not forget God. In other words, the

³ Javanese days are; *Pon*, *Wage*, *Kliwon*, *Legi* and *Pahing*. In addition, Javanese use the normal seven days, *Serini*, *Selasa*, *Rebo*, *Kemis*, *Jumuah*, *Setu* and *Minggu*. Javanese time reckoning, thus, consists of these two systems. This will result in a day that is an intersection of the two ways of reckoning such as *Jumuah Legi* (deriving from *Jumuah* and *Legi*). Once every 35 days, the same coincidence of two days, such as *Jumuah Legi*, will re-occur.

Angkawiyu is a metaphor to inform people about the spiritual aspect of their everyday lives.

5.1 History

A celebration to commemorate the life of an extraordinary pious person is a common practice among Javanese Muslims. At the beginning, the celebration probably aimed to convene a religious gathering, as in a *tarekat* group, to observe the *wali*'s teachings. For example, the celebration of the *Angkawiyu*, as told by the *juru kunci*, was believed to be a *tarekat* gathering observing Kyai Ageng Gribig's teachings. This can be seen in the way participants recite *dhikr*—*Ya Qawiyu Ya 'Aziz*—during the *Angkawiyu*. It is one of many popular features of *slametan* that meals are always involved. The *apem*, the main meal during the *Angkawiyu*, presumably came from its use as a *slametan* meal. When the participants in the religious gathering increased, it became a large gathering, which attracted other people, and in turn, expanded its meanings and functions.

There are many names for celebrations related to the lives of *wali*. However, the most popular term used is *kaul*⁴—sometimes *khul* or *kol*. For example, in Bayat, a region not far from Jatinom, the celebration of the life of Sunan Tembayat is called *Kaul Akbar* (the great *kaul*). The celebration is held a week before the coming of *Ramadhan*. In addition to reciting *tahlil*, holding a religious gathering, performing traditional performances such as *wayang*, *Kaul Akbar* in Bayat is popularised by the ceremony of *Pasang Singep*, a ceremony to change the cloth (*singep*) used to wrap the tomb of Sunan Tembayat. The old *singep* then is distributed to participants as a sign of *baraka* which can be used as an amulet or for other spiritual purposes.

⁴ The term *kaul* may derive from Arabic *haul*, meaning year. *Kaul*, therefore, may be a yearly celebration to commemorate the death of a *wali*.

If the *Kaul Akbar* of Sunan Tembayat was popularised by the sacredness of the *singep*, the *Angkawiyu* in Jatinom was dominated by *apem* that is also believed to have spiritual qualities. Both *singep* and *apem* are taken as a sign of *baraka* deriving from the *wali*. In recent years, some participants have come to regard the *Angkawiyu* as *Kaul Akbar*, since there have been religious gatherings to recite *tahlil* and *dhikr* during the *Angkawiyu*. However, the celebration is still popularly called *Angkawiyu*, *Saparan* and *Apeman*.

The *Angkawiyu* in Jatinom has a special status. The massive response from villagers in celebrating the event indicates its special position in the society. Villagers consider the *Angkawiyu* as their *riyaya* (big day); therefore, they have made it a holiday. Moreover, on that day villagers open their houses for visitors to have *apem*. They believe that if many visitors come to their house, it is a sign that they will obtain more wealth in the future.

The *Angkawiyu* is conducted in the month of *Sapar*. There is some speculation as to why the celebration is held in *Sapar*. According to Javanese, and also Islamic traditions, the month of *Sapar* is a notorious month with misery or misfortune, meaning that during this month a lot of calamities, sickness, bad luck and death happen. Muhaimin (1995) noted that for Cirebonese, the month of *Sapar*, especially *Rebo Wekasan* (the last Wednesday of the month) is a bad month. In this month, Cirebonese avoid travel, weddings and other happy *slametan*. To avoid calamity during the month of *Sapar*, Cirebonese conduct various *slametan*, one of which is *ngapeman*, deriving from *apem*. This *apem* symbolises the body, and *kincah* (brown syrup made from palm sugar and coconut milk), symbolises the blood of misfortune (Muhaimin, 1995:170-173).

In Jatinom, however, there is no clear explanation as to whether the celebration of the *Angkawiyu* in the month of *Sapar* is to avoid calamity. A

custodian of the tomb of Kyai Ageng Gribig speculated that it might be true that the *Angkawiyu* was performed in relation to the infamous characteristic of *Sapar*. There were some stories in the region that some people used *apem* gained from the *Angkawiyu* to cast out misfortune and bad luck.

However, the most popular story is that the celebration is conducted to mark Kyai Ageng Gribig's return from the *haji* by giving *baraka*, symbolised by *apem*, to his families and pupils. The *juru kunci* also said that the joyful features of the celebration demonstrates that it might not be linked to the notorious features of the month of *Sapar*. The joyful characteristic of the *Angkawiyu* can also be seen from the way people consider it as *riyaya*. The *apem*, as far as people said, is not only used to reject misfortune but also to attract good fortune.

De Graaf (1974) reported that in Jatinom, the local traditional celebration of the *Angkawiyu* had become the main attraction for various people from the surrounding areas. He further asserted that the event led to the emergence of Jatinom's market (*pasar Jatinom*), which has become the main market for distributing food for the region. The market, de Graaf argued, became established because of visitors who needed to find accommodation. Since most visitors participating in the *Angkawiyu* came from rural areas, they usually brought vegetables and rice to pay for their accommodation. As a result, Jatinom became a place for trade; visitors sold their goods in Jatinom for food and accommodation. This development of a market has also happened in other areas. Turner (1973) argued that the characteristic of a "pilgrimage place" is that it was originally located in a remote or hilly area. However, once visitors began coming to the place, the region became a busy place for business and related activities.

The *Angkawiyu* is associated closely with the life of Kyai Ageng Gribig. The tradition describes how the *Angkawiyu* started when Kyai Ageng Gribig was still alive. According to the story, one of Kyai Ageng Gribig's practices during the fasting month of *Ramadhan* was to pray to Mecca. Through his spiritual wisdom, he could go to Mecca easily. Tradition recounts that Kyai Ageng Gribig went with Sultan Agung, the ruler of Mataram, to pray with him in front of the Ka'bah. Furthermore, at Mecca they visited all the important places in the earlier history of Islam, such as the mosque of the Prophet in Medina and the mount of *Ar-rahman*, the place of the battle of *Uhud*—the battle which the Muslims lost.

According to local people, on Friday the 15th of *Sapar* in the year of 1511⁵, during his pilgrimage to Mecca, Kyai Ageng Gribig obtained three *apem* cakes which he brought home for his family and students (Sumantri, 1964 [1896]). He gave the *apem* to his family saying, "these are *apem ya qawiyu*". As there were only three *apem* and many people wanted to have some, Kyai Ageng Gribig asked his wife to cook more *apem* combined with the three *apem* to mix the *baraka* from Mecca in all the *apem*. Kyai Ageng Gribig then asked people to distribute *apem*, not only to their families but also to other people. Kyai Ageng told the people that, "*menawi nuju wulan sapar supados sami ngrilakaken bandhanipun ing sakadaripun kangge dana dhateng sesami*—when the month of *Sapar* comes, people are urged to give alms to other people who are in need". Since that day, in the month of *Sapar*, people have come to Jatinom to obtain *apem* from Kyai Ageng Gribig.

⁵ The traditions use this exact year because of the evidence of the date written on the gate of Kyai Ageng Gribig's tomb which says, "Ratu Sukci Tata Jagad", meaning Jagad=1, Tata=5, Sukci=1 and Ratu=1.

5.2 The Feast

On Friday, especially Friday *Legi*⁶, near the 15th of *Sapar*⁷, the second month of the Islamic-Javanese Calendar, Jatinom people perform the *Angkawiyu* to commemorate the traditions of Kyai Ageng Gribig by giving *apem* to the people. It is a great day, and it is one of the most significant days for Jatinom's people and those of the surrounding areas. However, as can be observed from their reasons for coming to the *Angkawiyu* ceremony, participants have various interpretations of the event. These can be grouped into three main categories: "*ziarah agung*" (a great visit), "*riyaya*" (a great day, the same as the *riyaya* celebrating the end of the fasting month *Ramadhan*), and "*apeman*" (obtaining *apem*).

The *Angkawiyu* celebration is performed to honour Kyai Ageng Gribig as a pious Muslim who gave spiritual protection to the region. The celebration is meant to show respect to him as a *pundhen*⁸, the first ancestor. The traditions maintain that Jatinom village was a gift of land given to Kyai Ageng Gribig by Sultan Agung for his success in destroying the rebellion in Palembang.

All the genealogical stories of Kyai Ageng Gribig describe him as a noble person from East Java. Only after some generations did he move to Klaten to spread Islam in the region. When Kyai Ageng Gribig was asked

⁶ In most areas of Central Java, the night of Friday Kliwon (coincides with Thursday night) and the eve of Tuesday Kliwon (Monday night), are sacred days. At some tombs in Klaten, however, Friday *Legi* or its eve (Thursday night) is regarded as the sacred day. For example, the busiest time for visiting Sunan Tembayat's tomb, also in Klaten, is the eve of Friday *Legi*. Some people argued that the use of *Legi* relates to the personage believed to originate from East Java, while Kliwon relates to the personage believed to originate from Central Java. Because Sunan Tembayat and Kyai Ageng Gribig were believed to originate from East Java, the celebration is performed at *Legi*.

⁷ The months of the Islamic calendar are: *Muharram*, *Safar*, *Rabi'ul auwal*, *Rabi'ul akhir*, *Jumadil Auwal*, *Jumadil akhir*, *Rajab*, *Ruwah*, *Ramadhan*, *Syawwal*, *Dzul Qa'idah* and *Haji*.

⁸ *Pundhen* derives from the Javanese word *pundhi*, meaning an honour. In some areas, especially in Klaten, the word *pundhen* is used to describe a person who is believed to be the first ancestor of a certain region or place.

by Sultan Agung to name the land he had been given, he named it Jatinom, in honour of his favourite place for meditation.

For those participants who perceive Kyai Ageng Gribig as their *pundhen*, therefore, the *Angkawiyu* is regarded as a *ziarah agung*, meaning a time for visiting Jatinom and its *pundhen*. Jatinom people who have migrated to other regions feel that they have to visit Jatinom to show their relationship with their origin. In addition, Jatinom people also believe that they have to continue their relationship with their ancestor, although they have already left the village. Visiting their relatives shows that the relationship is still maintained. Therefore, the day of the *Angkawiyu* is regarded as a *ziarah agung*, the day for remembering the village and its ancestor.

The *ziarah agung* is performed in various ways. However, the most common practice is to visit Kyai Ageng Gribig's tomb. This tomb, located behind the big mosque of Jatinom, is only open on the day of the *Angkawiyu*. On normal days, the tomb is closed. No one can enter it. If one wants to visit the tomb, one can only visit the outside. The closing of the tomb is interpreted differently by the *juru kunci*. One *juru kunci* said that the closing of the tomb is a sign that Kyai Ageng Gribig does not want people to ask him for *baraka*. However, other *juru kunci* did not agree with this argument. The closing of the tomb only indicates that it has its special day to be visited, that is during the *Angkawiyu* celebration. The day is special for those who want to visit the tomb.

On Thursday night, the night before the day of the *Angkawiyu*, thousands of people visit Kyai Ageng Gribig's tomb asking for *baraka*. As happens in other such Islamic sites, there are various ways of doing *ziarah*. One is to recite a short *tahlil* individually or in a small group. Some other visitors perform their *ziarah* by rubbing and kissing the tomb, and making a wish, always silently. Unlike other Islamic sites where *juru kunci*

take a prominent role in assisting and guiding visitors in performing *ziarah*, *juru kunci* in Jatinom do not take a part. Although the *juru kunci* might be willing to assist, they do not guide how visitors behave in their *ziarah*.

When the *ziarah* inside the tomb is finished, visitors come to *juru kunci* to buy some *apem* as a sign (*ngalamat*) of obtaining *baraka* from Kyai Ageng Gribig. The *apem* is put in a small plastic bag with a piece of paper containing a written *do'a* inherited from Kyai Ageng Gribig. In return for this *apem*, visitors give money to the *juru kunci* to cover the cost of making the *apem*. The *juru kunci* say that the money will not go to them or to the people who make the *apem*, but to Allah through the help of Kyai Ageng Gribig. It seems that the *juru kunci* want to explain to visitors that they are only the visible mediators who guide people to communicate spiritually with Kyai Ageng Gribig and then with Allah.

Some visitors perform a more complex *ziarah*, which is sometimes called "*ziarah agung*", meaning a *ziarah* that consists of visiting some important places related to the life of Kyai Ageng Gribig, i.e. the mosque, the *Jati enom* tree (the meditation place), the well (where he took ablutions), and the river and the cave (where Kyai Ageng Gribig practised and exercised his spiritual power). It takes visitors some days to visit all these sites. It is believed, at least by people who practise this, that if the task is completed they will receive a special blessing as Kyai Ageng Gribig did.

Regarding the interpretation of the *Angkawiyu* as *riyaya*, people consider the *Angkawiyu* celebration as their special day; it is the anniversary of Jatinom; it is the day to express thanks to Kyai Ageng Gribig; it is the day of the people's feast. Celebrating *riyaya Angkawiyu* is similar to celebrating other *riyaya* such as *Idul Fitri* (celebrating the end of the fasting month). According to Javanese customs, there are two

important aspects of celebrating *riyaya*, *sungkeman* and *punjungan*. *Sungkeman* derives from *sungkem*, meaning giving honour or respect to older people or respected people. In doing so, people visit their relatives and acquaintances to ask forgiveness and to express concern. The following is an example of what they say on such occasions:

Grandfather—or father, mother, uncle, auntie and so forth—I come to visit you here to say several things, firstly, I deliver you a greeting (*salam*=peace), hoping that Allah will give you good health. Secondly, I express my wish that our relationship will always last. Thirdly, I wish to say happy *riyaya*, and ask your forgiveness and blessings.

This example demonstrates the three main aims of *sungkeman*. Firstly, to express concern about the health and condition of the person visited. It also reminds them of God's involvement in every individual's life. The religious or spiritual aspect of *sungkeman* can be seen in the way the person asks God always to bestow a good life. Secondly, *sungkeman* is an expression of maintaining the relationship. In other words, *sungkeman* means informing someone that the relationship is preserved. Thirdly, *sungkeman* is performed to ask forgiveness. For this last reason, *riyaya* is also called *lebaran*, meaning the day of forgiveness and openness.

To facilitate this ritual ceremony of *riyaya*, the elders of the village will prepare their houses for visits from their relatives. As an expression of courtesy, traditional foods and fruits are prepared for visitors. In the *Angkawiyu*, of course, the main food prepared is *apem* as it is the main symbol in the whole of the *Angkawiyu* celebration.

Punjungan, on the other hand, literally means a gift. *Punjungan* involves giving a *punjung* (present) to elder relatives. The *punjung* mainly consists of foods. In the old days, children willingly offered to deliver the gift, because they would receive a gift from the person given *punjungan*. In *riyaya Angkawiyu*, people give *apem* to their relatives.

Therefore, on the night before the *Angkawiyu*, Jatinom is very busy. Organised in a group, people, mainly from outside the village, perform *ziarah* to Kyai Ageng Gribig's tomb. Other groups, consisting mostly of villagers, move from one house to another to do *sungkeman*. Approaching midnight, these people—both outsiders and villagers—gather in front of the mosque to celebrate *kaul* (the anniversary of Kyai Ageng Gribig's death) by listening to a sermon (*pengajian*) provided by a famous *kyai* in the region. When I attended the *Angkawiyu* in 1995, Mbah Muslim delivered the sermon.

The *Angkawiyu* celebration lasts for a week. The culmination of the ceremony is *rayahan apem* (striving for *apem*) conducted after the Friday prayers, the last day of the celebration. The following description is based on the *Angkawiyu* I attended in 1996. The *Angkawiyu* began a week before the *rayahan*. On Friday, a week before the Friday decided as the day for *rayahan*, an opening ceremony, asking permission from Kyai Ageng Gribig by saying prayers led by the eldest *juru kunci*, was held in the great mosque. After that people started to cook *apem* for the celebration. Even in 1999, at the time when economic crisis had severely hit Indonesia, the celebration of the *Angkawiyu* could still accumulate around four tons of *apem*. A portion of the *apem* collected, especially that cooked by descendants of Kyai Ageng Gribig, was used for making *gunungan apem*, which are arranged in a mountainous shape. There are two types: *gunungan lenang* (male *gunungan*), representing Kyai Ageng Gribig, and *gunungan wedok* (female *gunungan*), representing his wife.

The *apem* used for *gunungan* has to originate from descendants of Kyai Ageng Gribig and only they can be involved in making it. In the old times, according to stories of *juru kunci*, the people who made *gunungan* had to perform special obligations. One of these was to take ablution first, as if he/she wanted to perform prayers.

The *gunungan* was brought to the mosque during the Friday prayers, and people made *do'a* after the prayers. When the Friday prayers had finished, the *gunungan* was brought to the place where the *rayahan* would be held. Previously, this took place in front of the mosque, and the *apem* was distributed from the minaret. However, the place was moved, as there was insufficient room for the huge crowds. Instead of using the minaret, the organisers built a tower to distribute the *apem*. Placed on a big bamboo carrier, some youths brought the *gunungan* on their shoulders to the *rayahan* place, and *juru kunci*, the descendants of Kyai Ageng Gribig, the village officials, and people marched behind the *gunungan*. The eldest *juru kunci* started the *rayahan* by saying prayers, and then he distributed the *apem* from the *gunungan lenang* to the crowds while they chanted *dhikr*—*Ya Qawiyu Ya 'Aziz* (O God the Almighty and the most powerful).

The *rayahan* lasted for one to two hours. Some people went home before it finished, but others waited until the end of the *rayahan*. As a popular tourist attraction, some people came to the *Angkawiyu* just to take pleasure from the crowd's euphoria in the *rayahan*. However, most people were involved in the *rayahan* actively, and hoped that they would get some *apem*. Even a participant sitting quite far from the *rayahan* also hoped that he would get *apem*. When I asked him why he sat so far away, he said, "I deliberately sit in a far place from *rayahan* to test my luck. If my visit is blessed by Kyai Ageng Gribig, wherever I sit, I will get *apem*."

The popular discussion after *rayahan* was about *apem* obtained from the *rayahan*. A female participant in her mid-forties told her colleague about her experience of getting some *apem*:

Actually, my children forbade me to come to the *Angkawiyu*, as I just recovered from sickness a few days ago. However, I insisted on coming to the celebration because two days before the day of the *Angkawiyu* I dreamed that someone whom I did not know threw stones at me several times. Surprisingly, I could catch those stones thrown to me, although the person threw them very hard. At first I was

afraid of that dream, as it might be a bad sign for me. But when I remembered that in the next two days there would be the *Angkawiyu* in Jatinom, I assured myself that the dream could be a good sign for me. My ability to catch stones thrown to me in the dream was a sign that I would be able to catch some *apem* in the *Angkawiyu*. And that dream came true, I got many *apem* today. I hoped that these were signs for me that I would obtain more wealth in the near future.

Meanwhile, her friend listened to the story with an astonished expression. She also got some *apem*; however, she did not have a dream like her friend. Her visit to the *Angkawiyu* was inspired by her problems in family finances. Her husband was addicted to gambling, and never brought money home. She hoped that the *apem* would lead her to a way to solve the problem. Therefore, the night before the *rayahan*, she meditated at the cave of Kyai Ageng Gribig to relieve her burden. She also took some water from *Sumur Suran* (a leaking well), believed to be a leaking well of the great mosque of Kyai Ageng Gribig. "Well, this was my first visit. I have taken all the *baraka* usually pursued by participants here. May God and Kyai Ageng Gribig bless me", she said to her friend.

The *rayahan* is the finale of the celebration. As a religious lecturer explained it during the sermon in the Friday prayers before the *rayahan*, it is "an archetype of real life" which is full of predicaments, hindrances, struggles and hopes. The distribution of *apem* in the *rayahan* demonstrates that people have to believe in the existence of God, who provides prosperity from above. While struggling to obtain *apem* (life), people should not forget to always pray.

5.3 *Apem* and the Concept of Baraka

Apem is a popular cake in Klaten, but few people really enjoy eating it. However, in ritual ceremonies in Java, *apem* plays a major role. It is one of the core foods to be included in the ritual. *Apem* is made from rice flour, coconut milk, coconut and/or white sugar and salt. The dough is shaped into a circle and is fried in a special frying pan with a little cooking oil.

Some people argue that the origin of the word *apem* is the Arabic "*afwun*", meaning forgiveness. However, others consider that *apem* derives from *marem* (satisfied), meaning those eating it will be satisfied. The use of *apem* in some ritual meals is intended to ask forgiveness of other people. *Apem* is widely used in special ritual meals, such as *slametan* and at *Ramadhan*.

In *slametan* ritual meals, *apem* is placed on top of rice. According to some elders, the position of *apem* is an indication that asking for forgiveness is at the top of everything.

In the *Angkawiyu* ceremony, however, *apem* is interpreted differently. It is a symbol of *baraka* from Kyai Ageng Gribig. As a book on the *Angkawiyu* states:

According to people's beliefs, *apem* obtained from the *Angkawiyu* can be used in various ways. For farmers, the *apem* can be utilised for fertiliser for their rice fields and crops, and it also can get rid of pest attacks (*hama*). For one who wants to build a house, the *apem* will protect the house from disturbance from other people. There is even a belief that if a person can obtain many *apem* from the *Angkawiyu*, it is a sign that he/she will obtain much luck in his life.⁹

Discussion of the concept of *baraka* must consider the context in which people understand it. People's conception of *baraka* is influenced by their social contexts. The paramount factor to understanding the ideology of *baraka* and the way in which it is transmitted to people is connected to people's cultural perception of the relationship between *wali* and God, and humans and *wali* and God. As understandings of *baraka* relate to social and cultural contexts that continually change, the meaning of *baraka* may vary over time and place. People usually perceive *baraka* embodied

⁹ *Mirid ing kapitadosanipun tiyang kathah, apem punika kenging kangge tumbal utawi sarat warna-warni. Tumrapipun para among tani kenging kangge tumbaling sabin, dayanipun saged damel saening taneman, kalis ing sekathahing ama. Dene menawi kangge saratipun griya tinebihaken saking paradamel jahil, mekaten spituridipun. Malah wonten malih kapitadosn, sinten ingkang angsal kathah pangrayahipun apem dados ngalamat sarta pratandha badhe manggih kabegjan kathah.*

in *apem* gained at the *Angkawiyu* in accordance with their everyday life experience.

Taken from its Arabic origin, *baraka* literally means "blessing, grace bestowed by God". In this regard *baraka* embodies transcendental qualities such as *pahala* (reward), *keberuntungan* (luck) and *kadigdayan* (spiritual power). In Jatinom, however, people also perceive in *baraka* a wide range of worldly qualities such as wealth, prosperity, success, well-being and health. Therefore, a trader interprets the *apem* of the *Angkawiyu* as a means of making his/her business successful; a farmer articulates it as a fertiliser of crops; a student understands it as a way of achieving success in his/her study.

Differing interpretations of the concept of *baraka* influence how people recognise the symbol of *baraka*. Those who understand that *baraka* is reflected in mundane qualities take *baraka* in mundane signs, such as *apem* and water from *Sumur Suran*. However, those who believe in the transcendent quality of *baraka* do not symbolise it in worldly objects, meaning that they believe that the *baraka* will be received on the day of judgment as a result of doing good deeds (*ibadah*). People who believe both of these meanings argue that the status of having *baraka* is not embodied in the thing itself, but builds upon the belief that the object contains *baraka*. Therefore, what is most important is not that the *apem* is *baraka* itself, but rather that the *apem* contains *baraka*.

Another significant debate pertaining to *baraka* is its source. Some people argue that *baraka* comes from Kyai Ageng Gribig, whereas others argue that it derives from God alone. Some believe that as a *wali*, Kyai Ageng Gribig has *baraka* to give to people. Believed to be a close friend of God¹⁰, the *wali* has been given the ability (*karamah*) by God to provide *baraka*. As God's reward of his piety and obedience in performing

¹⁰ The Qur'an says, and its translation is: "For friends of God (*wali*) no fear shall come and

religion, Kyai Ageng Gribig received *baraka* from God throughout his life and after his death. Therefore, he was filled with *baraka* and can transmit part of his *baraka* to other people. A *juru kunci* said:

Kyai Ageng Gribig is compared with a glass full of water. When water is continuously poured into a full glass, the water will overflow. Similarly, Kyai Ageng Gribig is already full of *baraka* as God continues to bestow *baraka* on him. Therefore, his *baraka* overflows. People can take that surplus *baraka*.

However, other people argue that it is only God who possesses *baraka*. Therefore, people should not ask for *baraka* from anyone except God. Their belief is that Kyai Ageng Gribig was a human and he could not bestow *baraka* to people. If people read the Qur'an and *tahlil*, they will gain *baraka* from their reading from God, not from Kyai Ageng Gribig. A *juru kunci* quoted a verse from the Qur'an which is translated as follows¹¹: "When My servants ask thee concerning Me, I am indeed close (to them): I respond to the prayer of every suppliant when he calleth on Me..." This *juru kunci* urged people to pray directly to God, and use Kyai Ageng Gribig for assistance only.

5.4 Ritual

When I attended the *Angkawiyu* in my childhood, I felt that I was going to a religious gathering. Every one recited certain words, which only later in my life could I recognise, while waiting and hoping for *apem*. It was like a mass Sufi gathering. In the old days, there was no *kaul* gathering on the night of the *Angkawiyu*. *Kaul* and *pengajian* are newly created to provide people with a better understanding of the events. However, although there was no *pengajian*, the religious aspects of the *Angkawiyu* were obvious. While waiting for the day of the *Angkawiyu*, people in the mosque formed a small group consisting of ten to fifteen

they shall not grieve" (10:62).

¹¹ The verse is 2:186.

people to recite together short *tahlil* usually with the addition of the words *Ya Qawiyyu*, the words taught by Kyai Ageng Gribig.

When I wished to explore the Sufi teaching of Kyai Ageng Gribig, unfortunately no one could help and direct me in my quest. I was curious about the chanting of "*Ya Qawiyyu Ya 'Aziiz*", words extracted from the *Asma'ul Husnaa* and repeated in the ceremony. Based on my own personal experience of practising Sufism in a *pesantren*, it seems that chanting the *Asma'ul Husnaa* as the *dhikr* is a popular practice. Some *santri* recite the *Asma'ul Husnaa* after every *Maghrib* prayer (sunset prayer). Some of them recite it up to 1,000 times. Their practice is motivated by a teaching which says, "if one can memorise all 99 of the *Asma'ul Husnaa* and then recite them after every *Maghrib* prayer several times, God will grant the person a place in paradise".

When I met Mbah Muslim, who is regarded as a *kyai* with the highest rank among Sufi followers, he gave me a paper containing some phrases which are similar to the phrases chanted in the *Angkawiyu*. Mbah Muslim also asked me to recite those phrases after every *Maghrib* prayer: 100 to 1,000 times each.

Considering these two personal experiences, I suspect that the ceremony of the *Angkawiyu* is a Sufi ritual. As it is held in a huge crowd of people, this *tariqa* is an open *tariqa* which means no strict ritual or organisation is needed. *Apem* is a symbol of obtaining *baraka* from the *dhikr* during the *Angkawiyu*. If *juru kunci* are asked about the *Angkawiyu*, they always say that things used and practised during the *Angkawiyu* are symbols to teach people about religion. It is a religious attraction.

The *Kaul Akbar* is a celebration to solemnise the death of Kyai Ageng Gribig by reciting *tahlil*. Mbah Muslim, a *tarekat* initiator, led the *kaul*. Begun with reciting prayers, Mbah Muslim started the *kaul* by clarifying

its *niyat* and the dedication of the *tahlil*. The statement of dedication given by Mbah Muslim was:

In the name of Allah the Most Bountiful and Merciful. We dedicate prayers (*do'a*) for the honourable Prophet Muhammad who Allah always greets and prays for, and his families, wives, children, descendants, and let us recite Al-Fatihah together [then participants together recited Al-Fatihah, the first chapter of the Qur'an].

And [we say prayers] for the Prophet Muhammad's respectable colleagues, all the Prophets and messengers before Muhammad, *wali*, martyrs, pious people, Muhammad's close friends, Muhammad's followers, *ulama* who practised their knowledge, writers on Islamic knowledge who wrote with *ikhlas* (a solemn intention), angels who always praise Allah, and especially for Kyai Ageng Gribig, let us recite Al-Fatihah together [they recited the chapter Al-Fatihah together].

And then [we say prayers] for all deceased Muslim people, all believers from all over the world, and especially for our fathers and mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers, our teachers, and for us gathered here with our own intentions, let us recite Al-Fatihah [then they recited together the chapter Al-Fatihah]. All praise belongs to Allah.¹²

When the dedication and *niyat* had been declared, the *tahlil* was begun by first reciting Al-Fatihah and an opening phrase from Mbah Muslim, "Please notice that the best *dhikr* is *laa ilaha illa Allah Muhammadun rasulu Allah*". After that people started to recite *tahlil*.¹³ Participants followed the *tahlil* with full of concentration. Most of the participants, with their eyes shut, moved their heads following the rhythm of the *tahlil*.

After repeating *tahlil* a certain number of times¹⁴, Mbah Muslim raised his voice to indicate that the rhythm of the *tahlil* should be quicker. The *tahlil* lasted for approximately one to one and a half hours, and it was finished by Al-Fatihah and an ending prayer (*do'a penutup*). Mbah Muslim

¹² In a complete *tahlil*, particularly when performed by *santri* in a *pesantren* who have already memorised some verses in the Qur'an, other chapters of the Qur'an are recited such as al-Ikhlās (112), al-Falaq (113), an-Naas (114), the Kursi verse (2:163), five verses at the beginning of chapter 2 (2:1-5), and the verse of 2:255. After that the *tahlil* was begun.

¹³ *Tahlil* is a term used to say two statements of faith in Arabic, *Laa ilaha illa Allah* and *Muhammadun rasulu Allah*.

¹⁴ The popular number of *tahlil* is 100 times. This amount is added to *dhikr* of *Alhamdu lillah*, *Subhuana Allah*, and *Allahu Akbar*, which are each repeated 33 times.

closed the *tahlil* with an Arabic prayer (*do'a*), which can be translated as follows:

Oh God please send our prayers and greetings to the beloved Prophet Muhammad, his family and his close friends. Oh God, who forgives all deceased Muslims' mistakes, and gives them blessings, give them a virtuous and pleasant place. Clean all their mistakes and sins with water, snow and morning dew. And write their wrongdoings off so they become clean people as white as a shiny white cloth. Replace their mundane houses with a better one in paradise, and accompany them with a family better than their worldly family, and marry them with more beautiful women. Put them in your paradise, and spare them from death punishments.

Oh God we ask You for peaceful and safe lives with good health and knowledge. Bless us with wealth, and ease our way when we have to meet You.

After the *tahlil*, Mbah Muslim gave a short religious comment concerning the life of Kyai Ageng Gribig. He said, "Obey advice from a pious person, such as Kyai Ageng Gribig, because his words and prayers are heard by Allah. Follow his excellent religious treasures for they contain *baraka*." After the *kaul* ceremony had finished, participants rushed to kiss Mbah Muslim's hands, as he was known as a pious person whose words and prayers were heard by Allah. In his home, not far from Jatinom, many people visit him asking for his *baraka*.

After the *tahlil* at the mosque, some participants continued their rituals by performing *ziarah* at the tomb of Kyai Ageng Gribig. They performed *ziarah* by reciting a short *tahlil* and saying some prayers.

However, other people performed their own *laku* (rituals). For example, a female participant performed her rituals by taking ablutions from the *Sumur Suran*, the leaking well, and she meditated inside a *langgar* located near the well. The custodian of *Sumur Suran* said that Kyai Ageng Gribig always took ablutions at this well and performed prayers at the *langgar* before meditating at the cave. In front of *Sumur Suran* there was a *tobongan*, a place for burning incense and offering prayers to Kyai Ageng Gribig.

This female visitor, after meditating for a while, unlike other visitors who then meditated at the cave, went to the location of the tomb of Kyai Ageng Gribig. She did not meditate at the cave because she was afraid of the cave's darkness. She asked permission from the *juru kunci* to perform *ziarah* inside the room where the tomb of Kyai Ageng Gribig is located. She sat close to the upper side of the tomb, at the head of Kyai Ageng Gribig, and made a prayer. When I asked her what prayer and in what language she said the prayer, she replied that the prayer was said in Javanese. She then recalled the prayer:

In the name of Allah the Most Bountiful and Merciful. Peace be upon you, I prayed to Allah, may he bless Kyai Ageng Gribig and his families. Oh Kyai Ageng Gribig, I come to you, firstly to pay respect and honour. Hopefully, you may accept my presence. Secondly, I come to you to ask for your *baraka* for myself and my family. I hope with your *baraka*, prosperity would soon come to my family. All praise belongs to Allah. Peace be upon you.¹⁵

She then rubbed the tomb three times, and then rubbed her face, symbolising the entry of the *baraka* into the body. After the prayer, she went to the *juru kunci* and took *apem*, which had already been put in a small plastic bag. She gave money to the *juru kunci* in exchange for the *apem*. This *apem*, she believed, contained *baraka* that might give her good fortune. Therefore, she kept the *apem* and would never eat it.

The different rituals performed by participants during the celebration of the *Angkawiyu* demonstrated the different interpretations of the existence of Kyai Ageng Gribig. People who believed that he was a *wali* and practised Sufism, asked him for *wasilah* (his intercession) to worship Allah. In doing so, these people performed *tahlil* as they did

¹⁵ Bismillahirrahmanirrahim. Assalamu'alaikum Kyai Ageng Gribig, mugi-mugi Gusti Kang Murbaeng Dyonadi maringi berkah dumateng Kyai lan keluarga. Duh Gusti kula miri meniko, sepisan kula bade ngaturaken sembah bakti kula dumateng Kyai mugi-mugi Kyai kepareng nampi sowan kula. Saklanjutipun kula miri mbok bilih Kyai kepareng maringi berkah dumateng kula, mugi-mugi usaha kula dan anak-anak kula sageto sukses. Inggih meniko wau panyuwunan kula, mbao bilih wanten tingkah laku kula ingkang mboten mrenani penggalih Kyai, kula nyuwoni gung ing samudra pangaksami. Alhamdulillah.

during the *kaul*. However, other participants who regarded Kyai Ageng Gribig as their *pundhen* as well as a *wali* performed it differently. There were also some people who simply considered Kyai Ageng Gribig as a pious Muslim who succeeded in spreading Islam in Jatinom. Their coming to the *Angkawiyu*, in addition to giving respect, was to learn from him. Of course, there were visitors who believed all these characteristics of Kyai Ageng Gribig. These differences led to various interpretations of the meaning of the *Angkawiyu* in the context of local Islam.

6. Interpretation of the Feast

The *Angkawiyu* is always held on a Friday. As Friday is the day for *jumatan* (praying together every Friday in the mosque), Muslims have to conduct their noon prayers (*dhuhr*) together in the mosque. In doing so, people are distributed among mosques available in the village and surrounding areas. In addition to the *Masjid Agung* (great mosque) of Jatinom, there are three other mosques used by visitors to perform Friday prayers during the *Angkawiyu* ceremony. These four mosques, at least as indicated by the sermons given during Friday prayers, symbolise the different interpretations of the *Angkawiyu* ceremony. One mosque, which is considered as the mosque of Muhammadiyah, the modernist movement in Indonesia, articulates the interpretation of the *Angkawiyu* in accordance with the Muhammadiyah's ideas of purifying Islamic practices from the influence of Javanese traditions. According to the preacher of the sermon at the Muhammadiyah mosque, the *Angkawiyu* ceremony is an analogue of the concept of struggle (*ikhtiar*) as understood by Kyai Ageng Gribig. The preacher said:

The core meaning of the *Angkawiyu* ceremony is that humans have to make a serious effort to sustain their life. *Apem* which is thrown from the bamboo tower, is an indication that God has given life to all humans. It is up to them to make an effort to struggle to get that life. After getting that life (*apem*) one has to utilise it by good means and ways, in agriculture, education, health and so forth. Therefore,

humans should not day-dream about getting that life. God will not give wealth to those people who do not struggle.

This speech indicates that the *Angkawiyu* is actually a message that has to be understood by visitors in a certain way. Getting *apem* is not the goal of the *Angkawiyu*, rather *apem* was used by Kyai Ageng Gribig to inform people about the teaching of Islam, most notably about the concept of *ikhtiar*. In the last part of his sermon the preacher felt unhappy about the way in which most people interpret the *Angkawiyu* at present. In his view, the *Angkawiyu* has deviated from its intended goal. He further said:

Maybe people have forgotten about the religious significance of the *Angkawiyu*. Nowadays, people give more attention to its attraction, and also people are more interested in understanding the *apem* as *baraka* that can be brought home as a spiritual gift. Few people coming for the *Angkawiyu* are seriously interested in remembering the life of Kyai Ageng Gribig and his teachings. The *Angkawiyu* has lost its religious meanings.

He, therefore, urged the committee of the *Angkawiyu* to stick to the original purpose of the *Angkawiyu*. He appealed to the committee and visitors to purify the *Angkawiyu* from non-Islamic influences. The *Angkawiyu* has to be returned to its religious purposes and meanings.

However, this line of argument was strongly opposed by one of the old *juru kunci* of Kyai Ageng Gribig's tomb. This *juru kunci* maintained that *Angkawiyu* is a neutral activity. Therefore, it is up to the people to give meaning to it. Of course it is true that Kyai Ageng Gribig intended the *Angkawiyu* to teach people about Islam. However, Kyai Ageng Gribig never forced people to articulate the *Angkawiyu*, and ultimately his teaching, in the way in which modernists want. This *juru kunci* further clarified his position by saying:

Actually, I do not agree with people who want to change the understanding of the *Angkawiyu*'s participants. I was taught by my father and grandfather about the history of Kyai Ageng Gribig, who was so spiritually powerful because of his intense meditation. This cave was used by Kyai Ageng Gribig for meditation. People who visit Jatinom to meditate in the cave are allowed to because the story

of Kyai Ageng Gribig that I received justifies that. If you asked me about the cave I would tell you that Kyai Ageng Gribig had spiritual power as a result of his serious meditation in the cave.

From his description it is clear that this particular *juru kunci* wanted to maintain the site and the *Angkawiyu* as they were described by his predecessors, without any changes. For this *juru kunci*, the most important part of the celebration is to remember Kyai Ageng Gribig as a powerful person who then can be asked for help by people either to solve their problems or to give them power.

6.1 A Symbol of Local Islam

From the point of view of the *juru kunci* it is clear that Kyai Ageng Gribig has passed down a form of local Islam that has been accepted by the people, or at least has been practised by them without any complaint. Kyai Ageng Gribig's intentions are shown clearly in the adoption of some local practices. Thus the *Angkawiyu* is a symbol of the practise of Islam in Jatinom. This means that, without abandoning local practices, people can still practise Islam. One *juru kunci* said:

As a matter of fact, if it is deeply understood and if young modernist Muslims do not question the behaviour of some visitors during their visits to the *Angkawiyu*, Islam has been voluntarily accepted by, and has coloured the life of, many Javanese. For example, the use of the *Angkawiyu* to name the celebration, which originates from *Ya Qawiyu*, is an Islamic *dhikr*. Songs that are sung during the celebration describe Islamic teachings, that is, they teach people to ask for help from God, not from a spirit or other sources. Without further explanation, the *Angkawiyu* and its teachings are Islamic.

By this comment, the *juru kunci* wanted to stress two important points. Firstly, he stressed that Islam has been accepted by the Javanese people. The acceptance of the *Angkawiyu* as their local tradition, in this case as Jatinom's local tradition, indicates the willingness of Javanese people to regard Islamic practice as their own tradition. The case of the *Angkawiyu* demonstrates that Islam has been taken, without any reservation, to be part of their new identity. Second, there is no need for

modernist Muslims to further purify religious syncretism of Islam in Java. In other words, Javanese people have their own interpretation and ideas of how to accept Islam.

6.2 The *Angkawiyu* as *Dakwah*

Ricklefs (1979), in his study of the Javanese people's conversion to Islam, argues that Islam was accepted not because of its spiritual superiority to local spiritual practices, but because of the fact that Javanese people were not concerned about its spiritual aspect. Javanese people can practise several religions, so they accept identification with various religions. The syncretic nature of religion in Java supports this argument. Therefore, it can be maintained that the position of any religion in Java is weak. Islam in Java, from this point of view, is not deeply rooted in Javanese society. Ricklefs argues that Islam in Java has only become an identity not an ideology.

If Ricklef's finding is true, how can we explain the spread of Islam in Java? Marshall Hodgson (1974a & b) claimed strongly that Islam in Java has triumphed. Benda (1959) also suggested that the rapid spread of Islam is an indication that Hinduism, Buddhism and other religions in Java before Islam were not deeply rooted. If these religions had been deeply rooted, or if the Javanese people had been satisfied with their spiritual life, Islam would not have easily penetrated the island.

Hodgson was disappointed with the work of Geertz, which he considered as systematically failing to understand the nature of Islam. Geertz did not give Islam room to have different faces. When he saw that Islam in Java had been influenced by Javanese traditions, Geertz labelled it as syncretic Islam. However, Mark Woodward (1989) argued that although it is true that Islam in Java has been highly coloured by local traditions, it does not mean that Javanese Islam is not Islam. According to

Woodward, the different manifestations of Islam, such as Sufism, is in fact the contribution of Javanese Islam to Islamic discourses.

The failure to see the triumph of Islam in Java, as suggested by Woodward, is based on several factors. Firstly, as he argued, most researchers focused on the life of the elite, that is, the Javanese *kraton*, through their libraries or interviewing the elites. Second, these scholars were preoccupied with the definition of the concept of Islam which originated from Arabic societies. Thirdly, they failed to see the active response of Javanese people to Islam.

Woodward's research, based on the interpretations of mystic symbols in the palace given by both the elite and ordinary people, suggests that Islam in Java has indeed triumphed. He argued that the way in which people interpret the symbols in the Javanese palace is in accordance with Islamic teaching. He also suggested that it is true that Islam in Java has been suffused with local elements and knowledge. Nevertheless, this phenomenon should be understood as the Javanese way of interpreting Islam. In other words, if there is a unique phenomenon about Islam in Java, such as its rich interpretation of Islamic mysticism, this should be interpreted as the Javanese contribution to the interpretation of Islam.

The *Angkawiyu* is an ideal window through which to examine the relationship between Islam and Javanese culture. I would argue that Geertz and other scholars such as Miyazaki (1988) have been trying to differentiate between Islam and local cultures. To do this, they attempt to separate or trace the origin of a practice. In this case, the *Angkawiyu* is traced back to a former period to determine its origin. Some Javanese people, including the *juru kunci*, visitors and local people, believe that the *Angkawiyu* originated from the time of Kyai Ageng Gribig. However, they

do not consider it possible that some practices have been added, and that the meaning of the ceremony has been updated.

One can ask how people see and interpret the *Angkawiyu*. To discuss this, we can group participants in the *Angkawiyu* into three groups: first, the visitors who mostly represent people from outside the region; second, the *juru kunci* who represent the history of the *Angkawiyu* ceremony as guardians of the place associated with this history and the stories maintained through oral traditions; and third, the local people who have witnessed the change and continuity of the ceremony.

A few years ago, around the mid-1970s, the *Angkawiyu* became a major attraction for people in the region around Jatinom. The main attraction was to fight for (*ngrayah*) *apem* distributed in front of the mosque in Jatinom. There was no question at all about who Kyai Ageng Gribig was or what religious practice was related to the *Angkawiyu*. The clear intention of the people was to obtain *apem*, the representation of the spirituality given by Kyai Ageng Gribig. Although there were some books or short reports on the history of Kyai Ageng Gribig, most people were not interested in reading them.

However, when the visits became a kind of "tradition" for certain people, meaning that they came to visit Jatinom annually and especially in a time of malaise, the history of Kyai Ageng Gribig inevitably became important. His extraordinary personality became the legitimization of their visits to his graveyard. In other words, the history of Kyai Ageng Gribig, with its spiritual and magical power, became an important factor to legitimate these activities. This special story was transmitted to the people in several ways, one of which was through the *juru kunci* who accompanied the visitors during their visit. As representatives of Kyai Ageng Gribig, the *juru kunci* play a significant role in maintaining the spirituality of the place. The core intention of this group of people

remained the attainment of *baraka* through *apem*. Their motivation for coming to Jatinom was clearly spiritual.

The *Angkawiyu*, for these people, is an attraction that provides them a means of acquiring *baraka* which can be utilised for their personal welfare. For them, coming to the *Angkawiyu* is a spiritual journey, meaning that all of their attitudes before, during and after the *Angkawiyu* determine the result of their participation in the celebration. In the words of one visitor:

There are some activities that have to be done to succeed in the *Angkawiyu*. According to our parents' advice, before departure to the *Angkawiyu*, one has to avoid having bad intentions (*niyat*), such as stealing and robbing. Furthermore, one has to have a determined (*mantep*) feeling. This means that the heart feels submission to the destiny decided by God. If one's spiritual effort is accepted by God, one has to welcome it with gratitude. If not, however, one has to be patient (*sabar*).

This visitor's story contains some important points for discerning the understanding of the religious domain of the *Angkawiyu*. Firstly, this person argued that the activity is religiously motivated in that it requires good intentions. Furthermore, the *Angkawiyu* is regarded as a religious activity since participation in it is described as *tirakat*, a word derived from *tariqa*, meaning a special activity practised according to Sufi teachings. Javanese people understand that the concept of *tirakat* involves a serious effort by practising a certain ritual in a remote place. *Tirakat* can be as simple as staying awake all night, with or without a special ritual performance. In the case of the *Angkawiyu*, *tirakat* performed during the ceremony varies with every visitor. Some of them perform *dhikr* and prayers inside the mosque, while others just stay awake all night in a meditative mood in the cave.

Secondly, the use of the word *mantep* (determined), which could be interpreted as faith, is another implication of Islamic teachings. Although it is described in very general terms, the use of *mantep* in the *Angkawiyu*

ritual is an indication of people's intention to believe or put faith in the teachings of Kyai Ageng Gribig. In other words, one has to believe or at least acknowledge his teaching in order to obtain *baraka* from Kyai Ageng Gribig. When I asked some visitors further about the concept of *mantep* they said:

Mantep means a united feeling of soul and heart to pursue our goals. *Mantep* is also a feeling of submission to God. If our purpose (of attending the *Angkawiyu*) is answered by God, one should accept it with happiness. However, if the request is not answered by God, one should accept this with patience. We cannot have bad thinking toward God's intention and gifts—by saying that God has dealt unfairly with people. Whatever is given to us is the best thing that God has given to us.

These kinds of statements shows how people have different interpretations of the religious element of the *Angkawiyu*. Some people attempt to articulate the *Angkawiyu* in accordance with traditionalist Islam which tolerates the use of local cultures in Islamic practices. On the other hand, some people, especially the young Muslim generation, prefer to interpret the *Angkawiyu* in line with the ideas of modernist Islam. Some other people, especially the *juru kunci* and the elderly, want to look at the *Angkawiyu* as it is. They believe that there is no need to further interpret the event. Let the people themselves articulate its meaning, without blaming each other. As one *juru kunci* said:

Let the people interpret the meaning underpinning the celebration of the *Angkawiyu*. For me, the *Angkawiyu* is a symbol of the existence of Islam and its relationship with Javanese civilisation. Therefore, let the people give meanings to the *Angkawiyu*. If the meaning of the *Angkawiyu* is determined in accordance with a certain line of thought, maybe people will stop coming to the *Angkawiyu*. Moreover, for the sake of spreading Islam in Java, the open interpretation of an Islamic symbol such as *Angkawiyu* will help Javanese people to associate with it. This is because, in religious interpretation, Javanese people tend to have a double standard.

Such assertions, mostly made by the oldest *juru kunci* at Kyai Ageng Gribig's tomb who were no longer active, show clearly the position of Islam in the *Angkawiyu* ceremony. There is no doubt that Islam is the main feature of the celebration: it is a celebration of a famous Islamic preacher;

it is performed in front of the mosque; during the celebration, an Islamic *dhikr* is chanted. Without explaining the Islamic domain of the *Angkawiyu*, people already know it. As a consequence of this, people who come to the *Angkawiyu* are motivated by the fact that it is an Islamic tradition.

However, when people attempt to make matters clearer (*diteges-teseske*), it causes others to challenge their interpretations. Giving people the freedom to interpret the *Angkawiyu* allows them to determine their own understanding and association with Islam.

There are some people who believe in Islam with full dedication, following Islamic teachings diligently. There are others who follow Islamic teachings indifferently. It is true that the latter know about the Islamic teachings, but because they have a certain understanding of Islam they do not perform religious duties well. The most important thing is that in religion there is a grading of categories according to which people can be judged *ngalim* (knowledgable, and who therefore practise religion well) and *durung ngalim* (not yet knowledgable, who therefore do not yet practise religious teaching well enough). Both *ngalim* and *durung ngalim* are Muslim.

To sum up, the multiple voices of religious interpretation underpinning the celebration of the *Angkawiyu* demonstrate the nature of popular Islam in Java. The *Angkawiyu* is a model of social practice in which people's association with Islam can be depicted. It is a symbol of the many faces of Islam in Java. At the same time, the *Angkawiyu* is a part of the ongoing process of finding true Islam in Java. It is a pluralist message of Islam that permits different understandings.

Figure 2
Genealogy of Kyai Ageng Gribig Version 1

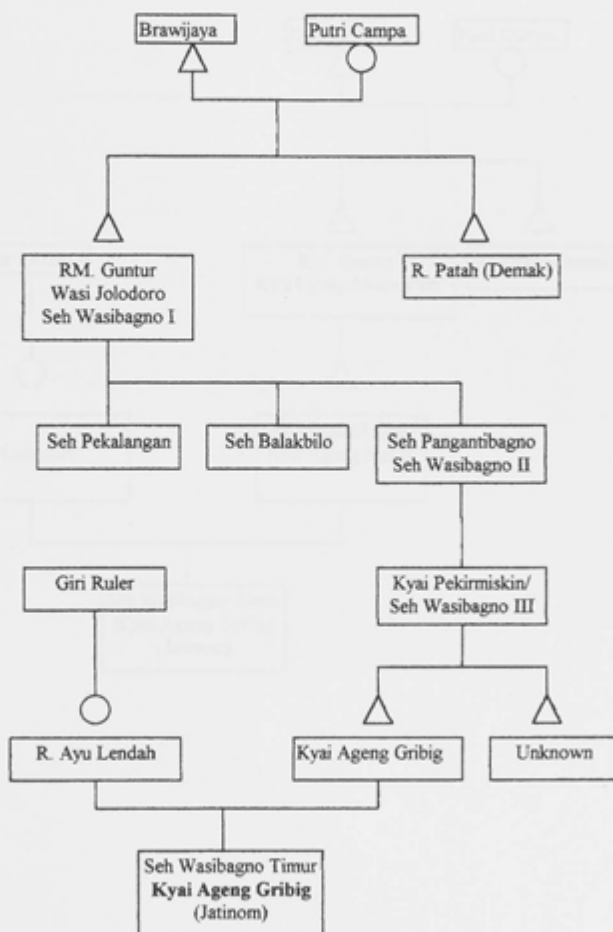


Figure 3

Genealogy of Kyai Ageng Gribig Version 2

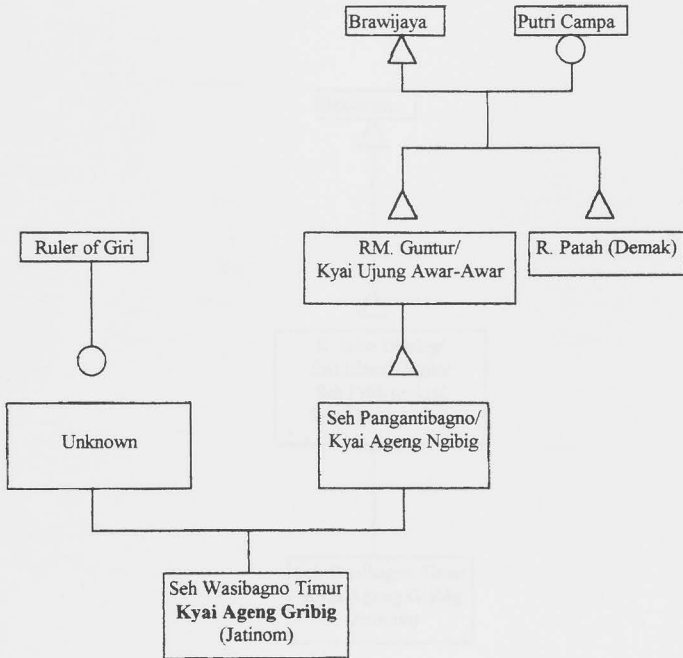


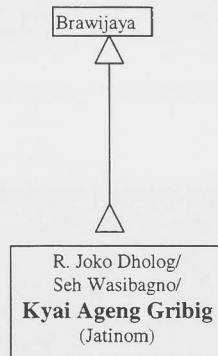
Figure 4

Genealogy of Kyai Ageng Gribig Version 3



Figure 5

Genealogy of Kyai Ageng Gribig Version 4





A husband and wife perform *ziarah*



Performing *ziarah* with reciting *tahlil*

Chapter VI

Discontinuity and Continuity

*If you want to study religious knowledge
Chose a legitimate (well-known) teacher
who has good behaviour
and knows about the laws
who carries out good deeds (ibadat) and has wirongi.¹*

*It is special when you have a man who meditates,
who has a high position,
never thinks about others giving.
This is a legitimate teacher with whom to study.
Learn his knowledge.²*

1. Introduction

In previous chapters I have discussed the multi-voiced nature of Islam in Java which is manifest in various religious orientations. In chapter III I discussed the various discourses of Islam in Java that underpin these religious orientations. Although such religious orientations do not exist exclusively in Java, it is obvious that Javanese Islam has its own distinctive character. For example, the manifestation of Sufism in Java has uniquely developed in combination with local culture. Chapter IV discusses a village that demonstrates the process of change in religious orientation to provide a picture of the way in which these various orientations emerge and then interact with each other. Chapter V, which describes the *Angkawiyu* ceremony, provides an example of a religious activity that is interpreted in different ways. The *Angkawiyu*, as a

¹ *Wirongi* derives from a Sufi term *wira'i*, meaning avoiding a mundane life. *Wirongi* (Arabic *wiro'i*), is one of the characteristics of Sufism. A Sufi is called *wirongi* when he has left life to dedicate himself to the spiritual life.

² *Nanging siro yen nggeguru kaki, Amiliho manungso kang nyata Ingkang becik martobate, Sarto kang wruhing kukum, Kang ngibadah lan kang wirongi, Sukur oleh wong topo, Ingkang wus amungkul,*

symbolic event that carries some religious messages, is an open arena for people to demonstrate their religiosity. In this regard, the *Angkawiyu* is an arena in which Javanese people can perceive how Islam and the local culture can be interpreted.

Scholarly debates about Islam in Java, in the context of Islam as a whole, have resulted in different perspectives. Based on the heavy influence of Javanese culture, predominantly characterised by Hinduism and Buddhism, which can be seen in Islamic mysticism, some argue that Islam in Java is syncretic. Moreover, in so far as Hindu and Buddhist elements in religious practices are still evident, others perceive that Islam in Java is marginal to Javanese spiritual life. However, some scholars such as Marshall Hodgson and Mark Woodward argue that Islam in Java has triumphed as it is deeply rooted there. These different perspectives regarding the place of Islam in the Islamic discourse are sparked by the different articulation of various religious orientations in Java. Hence, it is important to examine closely the Javanese perceptions of their various religious orientations to discern the nature of Islam in Java.

This chapter, therefore, will elaborate on the various understandings of Islam and their relation to the process of Islamisation in Java. In doing so, this chapter will trace various interpretations of the place of Islam in Javanese society. This examination will provide a picture of how Javanese people describe Islam and its relation to local cultures. Elucidating this theme will pave the way for understanding popular Islam in Java. This chapter will mainly focus on how people interpret changes in religious orientations. There are three discourses regarding the process of Islamisation in Java; that is, maintaining accommodation, inventing new Islamic traditions, and achieving a spiritual balance. Popular Islam in

Java, as observed in southern central Java, is characterised by the interaction of these three Islamic religious orientations.

2. Maintaining Accommodation

As can be seen from its appearance in different societies, Islam manifests itself in various ways. Like other monotheistic religions, Islam is universalist. In its social context, however, Islam consists of a symbolic system that is culturally variable and which changes historically. In tribal societies such as in the Arabic Peninsula and North African regions, Islam emerges as a power which unites tribal societies. In African societies, as Evans-Pritchard (1973) and Gellner (1969) observed, Islam has become the central corpus of the society in religious as well as mundane affairs. The story of the Sanusia order in Cyrenica provides an apt example of how Islam can empower tribal groups in their struggle against colonialism. A saint, more popularly described as a *marabout*, is a leader who settles conflict.

In general, Islam is manifest in two forms; legal/formal and mystical. However, there are some variations in the way people understand Islam in its legal and formal aspects. In the mystical form, there are some groups which attempt to elaborate the spiritual dimension of Islamic teachings. In Africa the mystical form seems to have dominated religious discourse. Although the role of Sufism manifested in *tariqa* has been diminished by modernist thinkings, it still has a significant influence, particularly in the rural areas of Africa.

In a seminar in Jakarta on the rise of fundamentalism in Islam, an Indonesian scholar pondered the question: why is fundamentalism not widely spread in Southeast Asia? Interestingly, a Middle Eastern scholar commented that the absence of Islamic fundamentalism in Southeast Asia is an indication that people in these areas do not totally accept Islam. In

other words, Islam in Southeast Asia is an *ersatz* Islam (pseudo Islam), which, as manifested in its religious practices, has been severely influenced by local traditions. In line with this assertion, "In Indonesia Islam did not construct a civilisation, it appropriated one" (Geertz, 1971:11). Geertz described the coming of Islam into Java as "old wine goes as easily into new bottles as old bottles contain new wine" (Geertz, 1971:11). In short, in Java there is a syncretism of Islam with local traditions.

There is no doubt that Islam in Java has some different characteristics compared with Islam in other Muslim societies, just as there are some differences between the manifestation of Islam in African societies and in Arabic Peninsula societies. The general picture of the nature of Islam in different societies is that Islam has constantly interacted with local cultures, even among Arabic societies where Islam first developed. Describing Islam in Java as a syncretic religion because it is influenced by local traditions is an inadequate argument since there is no Islam that is not coloured by local traditions. In Java, the use of local traditions in practising Islam is understood as a way to understand Islam according to local culture. An obvious example of this is that those who brought Islam to the island utilised local traditions to introduce Islam to Java. The *wali* deliberately used local traditions to spread Islam in order to accommodate Islam to the local environment.

Discussing Islam in Java cannot be separated from the lives of the Javanese who are regarded as the founders of Islam in Java. There are many stories, both oral and written, about the lives of these Javanese *wali*. These stories mention that there have been many *wali* in Java. This can be seen from various sacred sites associated with *wali* that have become places for *ziarah*. Since a *wali* is always linked to the process of Islamisation in a certain area, such sites exist in almost every corner of

Java. Among these popular stories of *wali* in Java, however, the story of *wali sanga* is the most ubiquitous.

Wali sanga literally means "nine *wali*". However, some argue that there were many more. Solichin Salam (1960) finds that there were many local *wali*, meaning *wali* that are recognised only in certain localities, but the nine *wali* are the most famous. According to Salam, the *wali sanga* are the nine *wali* who were involved in the establishment of the first Islamic kingdom in Demak. Furthermore, he argues that these nine *wali* were the *wali* who condemned the mysticism of Shaikh Siti Jenar, as this mysticism was considered heretical. But if we read Babad Tanah Jawi, only eight *wali* were involved in the early Islamic kingdom of Demak (Fox, 1997). On the basis of these various identities of *wali sanga*, the word *sanga* may derive from "*sangga*", a Sanskrit word meaning a group. In Buddhism, the *sangga* is a consultative group of monks who discuss religious matters. Therefore, *wali sanga* may mean a group of *wali* which can have many members. However, at present it seems that the concept *sanga* is popularly perceived by most Javanese as the nine *wali*.

The contribution of the *wali* to spreading Islam in Java cannot be denied. Throughout Java there are holy sites of *wali* tombs visited by many people. These visits are meant to pay tribute to the *wali*'s contribution to spreading Islam in Java. In addition, the visitors ask them for *baraka* from *wali*. At every holy site of *wali* there is a mosque which symbolises the message of Islam. The complex at each site is also used for religious teachings, such as conducting public sermons (*pengajian umum*).

The nature of Islam brought by the *wali* can be observed by considering the religious practices performed in areas surrounding the *wali*'s holy sites. As described in the previous chapter, the *Angkawiyu* celebration in Jatinom is a symbol which delineates the religious nature of the region. To further elaborate on this, I will describe the process of Kyai

Ageng Gribig's conversion to Islam, based on local accounts preserved by *juru kunci*:

As it was described in the local traditions that Kyai Ageng Gribig was descended from Majapahit, it is understood that his family practised Hindu-Buddhist mysticism. In his practise of mysticism Kyai Ageng Gribig performed meditation in a quiet place such as a cave. An indication of the spiritual quality obtained from meditation is shown through the ability of a person in *kadigdayaan*. The word *kadigdayaan* originally means muscle power. However, *kadigdayaan* also means spiritual power which can be manifest in wisdom and intellectual quality.

The local traditions recount that Kyai Ageng Gribig senior (the first generation of Kyai Ageng Gribig in Tuban) met Sunan Bonang. They were involved in a debate on religious and spiritual affairs. They made an agreement that whoever lost the debate had to embrace the winner's religion. After a long debate, Sunan Bonang won. Therefore, Kyai Ageng Gribig converted to Islam and became Sunan Bonang's disciple.

There are no stories about how Kyai Ageng Gribig studied Islam with Sunan Bonang. Directly after Kyai Ageng Gribig's defeat, Sunan Bonang immediately asked him to travel to Central Java to spread Islam. He then arrived at Jatinom.

To improve his Islamic knowledge, Kyai Ageng Gribig meditated. There are several places considered as Kyai Ageng Gribig's favourite place for meditation, such as the cave and under the mahogany tree. These two places are frequently visited by people to do the same thing as Kyai Ageng Gribig did. They meditate at these places in the hope that they will obtain spiritual knowledge.

In the many stories about Kyai Ageng Gribig, there are none which describe how Kyai Ageng Gribig performed Islamic religious duties, such as the five time prayers and fasting. The story describes only how Kyai Ageng Gribig performed the *hajj* to Mecca. However, the account of his pilgrimage to Mecca is told in a mystical way. For example, it is told that Kyai Ageng Gribig went on the *hajj* to Mecca with Sultan Agung in only a few minutes. Because of this spiritual power, both used to pray in Mecca every Friday.

From this story, it seems that Kyai Ageng Gribig did not spread the legal/formal model of Islam in his teachings. However, he focused on the Sufism aspect of Islam, as is shown in the celebration of the *Angkawiyu* where *dhikr* are chanted loudly. In addition, in Sufi terms, *semedi*, a practise to acquire spiritual wisdom, can be interpreted as "*uzlah*", meaning living in a remote place to concentrate on *dhikr*. The *uzlah* is a basic ritual form that has to be performed by Sufi. The fact the stories do not mention how Kyai Ageng Gribig practised Sholat and other Islamic duties, does not mean that Kyai Ageng Gribig was not a serious Muslim. The stories do, however, provide a clue that Kyai Ageng Gribig practised Islam more according to Sufi principles than to formal Islam. Moreover,

the story about the Kyai Ageng Gribig's pilgrimage to Mecca without any means of transportation demonstrates that Kyai Ageng Gribig taught about the spiritual pilgrimage to Mecca. The *hajj* does not mean that a Muslim has physically to go to Mecca. A Muslim can go on the *hajj* spiritually. Kyai Ageng Gribig combined Islam with the richness of Javanese spiritual practise such as meditation (*semedi*) to obtain spiritual wisdom. Kyai Ageng Gribig meditated at Mount Merapi, which is regarded as one of the sacred mountains in Java.

These descriptions show some of the characteristics of Islamic accommodation. Among other things is the tendency to balance local Javanese traditions and Islamic teachings. This accommodation results in the formation of religious practices rich in cultural and Islamic values. A person who described himself as a follower of such Islam explained:

An obvious example of the accommodation between Islam and local cultures can be seen from the way the Javanese *wali*, the pioneers of Islamisation in Java, taught Islam by embracing local cultures. For example, *wali* tolerated the practise of *slametan* and *kenduren*. However, *wali* introduced Islamic elements into the practice. The use of Islamic prayers during the *slametan* and *kenduren* is a transparent intention of the *wali* to impose Islamic teachings. In the old times, people dedicated their prayers to a spiritual power other than God, such as the spirit resident in a river, or the spirit of a big tree. *Wali* directed this dedication to God. Finally, for the Javanese, though some may disagree with me, religion is about the feeling of heart and thought. It does not relate to its practices.

This success of mixing Islam with Javanese local culture is actually not only the result of the *wali*'s method of spreading Islam in Java, but is also supported by the characteristics of Javanese religiosity. In regard to religion, it seems that Javanese people tend to follow what may be called "the practise of double religion" (*beragama ganda*). This means that, as Ricklefs observed, Javanese people practising religion, especially in mystical forms, attempt to accommodate all religions. Ricklefs further argued that in the early period of Islamisation in Java, there was no objection to the Javanese being called Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist at the same time. Indeed, this characteristic of Javanese religiosity could be used

as an indication that they do not slavishly follow the formal doctrine of Islam.

However, this double religion is also an indication that Javanese people are very concerned about spiritual wisdom, as they are ready to accept several ways of obtaining it. As Geertz has pointed out, Javanese people seem to spiritualise all events. The *petungan*, a numerical system using the Javanese calendar, is applied to determine the perfect day for a certain event. Harry Benda (1959) described the dominant power of religion in its spiritual form in the struggle to build the Indonesian nation. Therefore, it is said that the *wali*'s approach to accommodate local cultures in practising Islam in Java is an appropriate one.

According to Solichin Salam (1960), the *wali* accommodated local cultures in three major areas. Firstly, they incorporated local discourses on religious philosophy, as shown by Sunan Bonang. In the story of this *wali*, Sunan Bonang used the knowledge of local religion to argue for Islam. For example, when he met Raden Mas Said, who became Sunan Kalijaga, Sunan Bonang also engaged him in debate about spiritual wisdom (Sastronaryatmo, 1962).

Secondly, Javanese *wali* also adjusted Islam in line with local cultures and traditions. This is illustrated by Sunan Kalijaga in Central Java and Sunan Kudus in North Central Java. As the previous beliefs of Javanese people were Hinduism and Buddhism, and some Javanese still embraced them, both Sunan Kalijaga and Sunan Kudus utilised these traditions to introduce Islam. Sunan Kudus, for example, asked his people in Kudus not to eat beef in honour of the Hindu belief in the sacredness of the cow. Until now, many people in Kudus, most of whom are Muslims, prefer not to eat beef, instead they consume buffalo. Sunan Kalijaga, on the other hand, adapted *wayang* as a tool for informing people about Islamic teachings.

Thirdly, Sunan Giri is credited with creating Javanese *tembang* (songs) to spread Islam. There are *tembang* that are used for traditional music performances such as *Laras Madya* and *hadrah* in north coastal areas.³

Wali spread Islam in a peaceful way that enabled Javanese people to embrace Islam according to their own understanding. The *wali* have created a way of indigenising Islam in accordance with the local cultures and knowledge.

3. Spiritual Balance

There have been various studies on Islam in court life, especially through texts and books written by the religious elites. However, there is a real problem associated with using Javanese texts as historical sources since the validity of dates and authors of some texts cannot be trusted. While the authenticity of some books, such as those written by Ranggawarsita, the court poet of Surakarta, can be traced, a number of others cannot be. Ricklefs showed how some religious books are without a clear author's name. Therefore, it is difficult to rely on these books to understand the existence of Islam in court life.

Soebardi, on the other hand, believed that religious books, especially those which contain debates on religious matters, can be used as sources for understanding Islam in the court. Soebardi's study of the *Serat Cabolek* at least portrays "the tensions in Javanese religious life resulting from contact with Islam" (Soebardi, 1975:52).

Simuh (1995) argued that before the coming of Islam to Java, there were two great traditions in Javanese cultures, the court tradition (*tradisi*

³ In relation to the various Islamic parties established in response to the freedom of expression after the fall of Soeharto, a leading *kyai* in East Java, Agoes Ali Masyhuri, argues that Islamic parties are not imitating the method used by the *wali* in spreading Islam in Java. According to Masyhuri, this method was an excellent one that should be followed (Masyhuri, 1998).

kraton) and the tradition of ordinary people (*tradisi wong cilik*). The court tradition was influenced by Hindu-Buddhist traditions, and was characterised by a spiritual attitude which focused on meditation.

The prominent role of Javanese courts as the centre for religious tradition can be traced back to Majapahit. Founded in the late thirteenth century in the interior of East Java, Majapahit's religious tradition was predominantly guided by Hindu-Buddhism. Majapahit was a model for subsequent generations of Javanese aristocrats. The core issue of religious teaching at this court was a belief that this world is a miniature of the spiritual world. The court was the centre of earthly and religious affairs, and the king was believed to be a god.

So far as the religious court books show, it was the mystical variant of Islam—Sufism—which predominated in Java. The traditions of *wali sanga* also demonstrate the existence of Sufism in Java. Sufism is driven by a quest for direct experience of the divine rather than the legalistic aspect of Islam. Sufism thus presented Islam to Java in a form which may have been more readily acceptable to the mystics of the Javanese court. On the basis of three religious books which are regarded as the spiritual power of the sultanate of Surakarta, Ricklefs has shown the acceptance of mystical Islam as the court elite's spiritual base (Ricklefs, 1998:xx-xxii).

Soebardi (1975) argued that some religious texts of the Javanese court depict the debate between legal/formal Islam based on the *shari'a* and spiritual mysticism based on the Islamic Sufi tradition and Javanese mysticism. There are various examples of how the conflict is depicted. The story of Syekh Siti Jenar's conflict with the *wali sanga* regarding the union with God is a famous example of how Islam and Javanese mysticism are understood. The Book of Cabolek, as Soebardi argued, provides another example of how legal/formal Islam and Islamic

mysticism are accommodated (Soebardi, 1975). The Book of Cabolek recounts the story of Dewa Ruci and eight colours which become the main issue of the debate. In this story Werkudara, the main actor, representing a human being, has entered into Dewa Ruci, symbolising God. The story is seen as an example of the union between humans and God (Soebardi, 1975:40). In interpreting this story, Kyai Ketib Anom, who represents legal/formal Islam based on the *shari'a*, and Haji Amad Mutamakin, who exemplifies a person who perceives Islam through mysticism, have become involved in a serious debate.

As Javanese courts adopted the mysticism of Hinduism and Buddhism, the acceptance of Islam affected their social, political and religious life. Islam provided new ideas and an intellectual frame of reference. However, it did not mean that the older religious lives were abandoned. For example, the adoption of "Kalifutallah Sayidin Pranotogomo—the representative of Allah, the honourable person who manages religious affairs" as the sultan's title is a clear indication that Islam brought new ideas to the Javanese court. On the other hand, the beliefs in the existence of the goddess queen of the southern ocean as a spiritual guardian for the sultan shows the existence of past religious traditions.

Woodward found that in the sultanate of Yogyakarta, symbols that decorated the palace were interpreted in accordance with Islam. Religious interpretations of mysticism practised by elites of the court were in line with Islamic teachings. Woodward (1989) showed that the concepts of *lahir* and *batin* are understood in a similar way by Sufism (Woodward, 1989). Of course there are some differences from Sufi practices in other Muslim societies.

It is clear, therefore, that Islam penetrated the religious life of the Javanese courts. From the evidence available, it is clear that this

penetration had begun even in the time of Majapahit. The graves of Javanese Muslims in Trawulan (1368) and Tralaya (1376), which are considered to be the earliest evidence of the existence of Islam in Java, indicate that some royal families of Majapahit had adopted Islam (Ricklefs, 1993a:4-5). The form of Islam adopted by the Javanese courts assumed the mystical form. Furthermore, there is a clear connection between Islamic mysticism and the Hindu and Buddhist mysticism that previously dominated the religious life in the courts. According to Ricklefs, this ambiguous character of Islam in the court testifies to the fact that Islam in Java, especially in the courts, seems to have been more important as a social identifier than as an ideological discourse. In other words, there is no doubt that Islam may truly have shaped many adherents' lives, but Islam was more powerful as a marker of social identity than as a guide to personal faith and behaviour (Ricklefs, 1998:88-100).

However, Woodward strongly rejected such an argument (Woodward, 1989:1-8). He argued that the distinctive Islam in Java, which is coloured by Javanese local religions, has to be interpreted as the contribution made by Javanese people to practising Sufism. As Islam penetrated into court life in its mystical form, Woodward argued, the presence of Islam in court life should be understood in that context. Claiming that Islam did not at all shape the religious life of the courts' elites is an exaggeration. One can argue that the courts took Islam only as a symbol. However, the use of the mosque as the centre of the courts' religious identity demonstrates their sincere adoption of Islam.

In his review of Woodward's book, Ricklefs said that Woodward had made some fundamental errors. In the beginning of the book, Woodward attempted to portray the triumph of Islam in Javanese culture. According to Ricklefs, however, Woodward did not provide a satisfactory

argument to prove his thesis stated in the introduction. Ricklefs maintained that the fundamental error made by Woodward involves a confusion about what is called Islam. Therefore, when Woodward says that a practice is Islamic, one can question the basis on which this statement is made.

Ricklefs further argued that the unconvincing nature of Woodward's argument further deepens when Woodward makes serious errors about Javanese terms, in writing as well as interpretation, making readers doubt his language competency. Finally, Ricklefs doubted whether Woodward's book makes any contribution at all to the study of Islam in Java.

Although I agree with Ricklefs's criticism, I do not share his tough judgment of Woodward's contribution to the study of Islam in Java. In my opinion, Woodward has provided a great breakthrough. His position in allowing the Javanese people to identify what constitutes being a Muslim is a step forward in describing Islam in Java. His argument, which is criticised by Ricklefs, is that mysticism practised in the palace as well as by the ordinary Javanese people is Islamic because people interpret it in accordance with Islamic teachings. The palace symbols are interpreted in line with Islamic teachings, which is strong evidence that Islam was used as the ultimate reference for their spiritual perfection. Muhaimin (1995) argued that Woodward's study of Islam in Java has ended the long debate on the triumph of Islam in Java.

It is not an easy task to determine whether the Javanese people who practise Islam support Woodward's argument. Looking at the religious practices in the court, they are far from close to Islam. In his latest book, *The Seen and Unseen Worlds of Java* (1998), Ricklefs provides a different angle from which to see Islam in the palace. On the basis of three mystical books of Islam—*Serat Yusuf*, *Serat Iskandar* and *Kitab Usulbiyah*—in the time of the reign of Ratu Pakubuwana II, Ricklefs maintained that Islam

failed to influence the palace. During its decline, Ratu Pakubawana used these three books to try to save the palace. However, this effort did not end in a happy way. The palace collapsed, and Islam could not save it. Ricklefs refuses to follow Soebardi's suggestion for further study of the influence of Islam in the court, since most religious texts on Islam cannot be used as valid evidence.

It seems to me that Ricklefs attempts to negate Woodward's study on the influence of Islam in the Javanese courts. However, I am not convinced by Ricklefs' arguments. For example, in determining the marginal position of Islam in the court, he notes the failure of those three books to save the collapse of the court. However, this point could be explained in a different way. The use of these three books, which can be said to contain Islamic teachings, is an indication that Islam played a significant role in safeguarding the palace. Furthermore, as Ricklefs himself stated, the nature of Islam that penetrated the court was mystical, the Islamic practices performed were mystical. Since mystical Islam focuses on the substantive and inner aspects of Islam, people in the palace would practise Islam in accordance with that model. Therefore, Ricklefs' argument that people in the palace paid little attention to Islamic duties such as prayers indicating the small influence of Islam in the court, is inadequate. In short, Islam in the palace was modelled upon the mystical path, which was influenced by the spiritual mysticism taken from Hinduism and Buddhism. Islam could have remained in the Javanese courts as a spiritual umbrella for all religious practices.

If Ricklefs found it difficult to discern any historical evidence in the literature to show the manifestation of Islam in the court, I think cultural evidence can be found. The ceremonies of *garebeg* and *sekaten* are examples of how Islam coloured the life of the elite in the court (Soelarto, 1993). But the most obvious example of Islamisation is the use of the title

Kalifatullah Sayidin Pranotogomo, which refers to Islam. Therefore, the lack of written evidence does not mean that Islam did not penetrate into the court. If one studies the nature of literature in Java, one can see that the Javanese tend to pass their traditions orally, and only recently have these oral traditions been written in books.

Soebardi argued that reading the religious books of the Javanese court must be perceived "in the context of the Javanese syncretic tradition" (Soebardi, 1975:53). This means that the use of Islamic formal law to punish heretical practices, as shown in the story of Syekh Siti Jenar and Haji Amad Mutamakin, who were punished for having practised a heretical mysticism, indicated an intention to adopt formal Islam as *wadah*. As explained elsewhere, there are two aspects of Javanese mysticism, *wadah* (container) and *isi* (contents). From the traditional Javanese point of view, changing the *wadah* by professing oneself to be a Muslim presented no obstacles provided that the person concerned retained his belief in Javanese tradition.

So, how do we interpret the existence of Islam in the courts? Did Islam triumph? Soebardi acknowledges that the spiritual tradition of the Javanese court faced a constant challenge from Islamic orthodoxy, which developed outside the court. The court tended to accommodate the orthodox Islam which had become the spiritual tradition of *wong cilik* (the ordinary people). The visit of Sultan Agung to the tomb of Sunan Tembayad, for example, was understood by the people in Bayat as recognition that Sultan Agung had to accommodate the Muslim traditions in Bayat. The claim that Sultan Agung had a dream about Sunan Tembayad was an indication of that adoption. As Islamic orthodoxy in the court was taken only as the *wadah* for spiritual exercises, nothing changed in the essence of religious practice. Islam in the court failed to triumph completely.

However, Woodward argued that the fact that Islamic Sufism was accommodated in Javanese court life is an indication that Islam deeply influenced the court. As he found in the Yogyakarta court, the religious life in the court was interpreted in accordance with Islamic teaching. Woodward further pointed out that Islam in Java has, with its distinctive characteristics, contributed to the understanding of Islam.

Javanese texts on Islam have to be viewed as intellectual debates on the quest for determining the right place of Islam in Javanese society. I support Mark Woodward's arguments that Javanese religious texts contain symbolic terms that need further interpretation. As with other symbolic events, such as the *Angkawiyu* ceremony or the court *garebeg*, the interpretations from the people who practise these rituals are a way of understanding the discourse behind the symbols. Following Geertz that religion is a "model for reality" that can shape social activities, Javanese texts on Islam can be perceived in that way. As Soebardi noted, Javanese texts on Islam are a window to discern further the position of Islam in court life.

4. Inventing New Tradition

In a religious gathering for *Ramadhan*, a worker who had just returned home from Surabaya told a story of his personal religious experience while working in Surabaya. "I experienced different Islamic practices in Surabaya. A *kyai* always leads the religious gathering. Everyone takes the *kyai*'s advice seriously. In our village, in Basin, we don't have any *kyai*, even the *pengajian* is dominated by young students." This worker further said that in Surabaya, beautiful *pujian* (songs) and prayers enhance the *pengajian*. The participants take part in a serious way so that many of them cry during the *pengajian*. In this society the *kyai* is the central figure, not only in religious affairs but also in mundane affairs.

As an honour to the *kyai*, people in the surrounding areas trust him to organise all of their religious duties, especially regarding alms giving (*zakat*). The *kyai*, through the *pesantren*, has been given a mandate by the people to promote Islamic teachings. To support the *kyai*, people donate financially to the *pesantren*.

This returned worker was a high school graduate who did not know much about Islam. He studied Islam in the village mosque under a local religious teacher. He grew up in a village that is now changing its religious orientation. Sponsored by young students, the modernist orientation of Islam has been introduced to the village.

These young Muslim students introduced a new method of teaching religion. Previously Islam was taught with traditional books called *kitab kuning*⁴, written in Arabic, and women were separated in the mosque. In contrast, these young Muslims used Indonesian books and put women and men into the same room to study. Furthermore, they also urge people to demonstrate the social aspect of Islam. For example, they built a permanent organisation to distribute and manage *zakat*, which previously was distributed by the *kyai*.

Purifying Islam from the intrusion of non-Islamic culture has become the slogan of their movement. To do this better the students had to study Islam's roots, the Qur'an and the Hadith, to enable them to judge which Islamic practices in Java have been influenced by local traditions. The reasoning behind the purification of Islam from the influence of Javanese cultures is to further promote Islam. As a preacher in Jatinom mosque argued:

In spreading Islam (*dakwah*) there are some stages in accordance with people's intellect and capacity. For example, the Prophet Muhammad followed several stages when he forbade Muslims to drink alcohol. In the early stage, the Prophet

⁴ *Kitab kuning* literally means a yellow book. As the book is written on yellowing paper, it is called a yellow book. In *pesantren*, *kitab kuning* refer to the books written by *ulama* who lived in the seventeenth century. Such books are the basic reference for the further study of Islam.

said that alcohol contains both useful and harmful things. However, alcohol will cause more damage than good. In the next stage, the Prophet forbade a drunken Muslim to become an *imam* (the leader of *shalat*) since he could not control his consciousness. In the last stage, the Prophet strongly forbade drinking alcohol, and he labelled alcohol as a part of God's condemnation.

This also happened to the *dakwah* performed by the *wali* in Java. There were stages involved in the spread of Islam in Java. For example, in the first stage *wali* introduced Islam to the people without telling them about any of the teachings of Islam. They focused only on spiritual building in every individual life. This stage can be seen clearly in the way in which the *wali* introduced Islam to the elites of Java. To promote Islam, the *wali* used discussion involving spiritual wisdom and knowledge. In the next stage, the *wali* introduced Islamic teachings into social and cultural practices. In this context, *wali* accommodated Javanese practices by adding Islam. *Slametan* is a famous example of this, when *wali* tolerated this practice, but gave an Islamic interpretation to it.

Since what was achieved by the *wali* was only a step towards changing the culture, the overall change could not be accomplished in one *wali's* life. It is the task of the generations after the *wali* to continue the stages of Islamisation in Java. The use of local cultures in the spread of Islam in Java has to be understood as a process for introducing Islam to a new environment to limit the shock. Our task right now is to continue this process by purifying the truth of Islam.

According to this argument, the Islam that was introduced by the *wali* in Java was not an end in itself. It was part of a strategy to promote Islam among the Javanese people. However, some people criticise this argument for two reasons, fearing people may turn their back on Islam. Firstly, purifying Islamic religious practices of local culture may create conflict among those who prefer to incorporate local practices. Secondly, purification will lead to a diminishing religiosity in cultural life.

The accommodation between Islam and the local culture introduced by the *wali* has brought harmony for the Javanese people. The people easily accepted many religious practices that were invented through this accommodation process. *Kenduren*, a *slametan* held for the dead, is an example of this accommodation. It is true that the *kenduren* is a local religious gathering to show sympathy for the family and the dead. The idea of performing *kenduren* is to accompany the family after one of its members has died to share in the family's sadness. According to local traditions, for a period after death the soul is able to come to disturb the family.

5. A Quest for the Right Place of Islam in Java

In a *Laras Madya* performance, one of the leaders asked a question about the meaning of the songs. Of course, his question was a proposal to discuss the religious aspect of the songs. He began the discussion by saying that, "*Laras Madya* is traditional music which teaches people about the harmony of the soul. So why is it called *Laras* (songs) *Madya* (medium level)?" The music, consisting of three hand drums (*rebana*) and a metal instrument (*tete*), symbolises the flow of life. The tone is flat, repetitive, and monotonous.

Teaching religion has to be like the flow of the music of *Laras Madya*. It gives a peaceful heart to the listeners", an old man argued. *Laras Madya* is described as one of the greatest legacies of the *wali* of Java. Although it is hard to prove, people believe that it was invented by the *wali* to teach them about Islam. Therefore, the songs for *Laras Madya* are about Islamic teachings. In the old days, *Laras Madya* was performed in an open yard by several people. Guided by a religious teacher, *Laras Madya* was sung with loud voices, bringing the message of Islamic teachings to the people.

The songs of *Laras Madya* were created by an unknown composer. Composed in Javanese *tembang*, they are actually a religious teaching. The songs usually describe the life of the Prophet Muhammad, the importance of finding a religious teacher in the quest for spiritual happiness. The songs quoted in this chapter are excerpts from a book of *Laras Madya* in Basin. As Mbah Sam, a leader of *Laras Madya* in Basin, said:

In the old days, we performed *Laras Madya* every Thursday night which is a special day for Muslims. On Thursday night people recited *berjanjen* in the mosque. After that we performed *Laras Madya*. Usually, the *guru ngaji* would accompany us. He would explain to us the secret meaning of the songs that are sometimes written in Arabic. For us, *Laras Madya* is a *pengajian* through music.

For some years, *Laras Madya* has no longer been performed. This is maybe because it lacks dynamic rhythm so that young people do not like it. Moreover, other people regard *Laras Madya* as a waste of time. However, these people forget the real essence of *Laras Madya*. This music was developed to teach people about

social and religious harmony. *Laras Madya* is about a heart that needs spiritual fulfilment, that is, religion.

To provide an example of how the songs teach people about religion, I give the following excerpt from a song of *Laras Madya* played in Basin. It advises people to be wise in choosing a religious teacher.

Bowo Sekar Sudiro Warno

*Podo den emut, hayco kangsi tan nglakoni,
Syukur lan rilo, Narimo ho mring takdir,
lan hayco amrih siro, saromo mring sesami,
den hambek utomo, tintitaken neng domya.*

Hi, people, remember, don't ever do it
Gratitude and submission, accept God's predestination.
And don't ever envy others,
Pursue excellence, that's why you live in this world.

Dandang Gula

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 1. | <p><i>Pamedaring wasitaning ati,
Cumanoko haniru pujaangga
Dahat muda ing batine
nanging kedah gimunggu
datan weruh yen kahesemi
Hamekso hangrumpaka
Boso kang kalantur
Tutur kang katula-tula
Tinalaten rimorih kalawan ririh
Mrih padanging sasmito.</i></p> | <p>The loss of the value of heart
Pretending to be like an artist
though still young in spiritual experience
but he wants to be praised
does not look at those who are smiling at him
He forced himself to write a poem
With bad language
With disorganised contents
Careful, and go slowly
in order to obtain clear inspiration.</p> |
| 2. | <p><i>Sasmitaning ngaurip priuki
Apan ewuh yen ora weruko
Tan jumereng ing uripe
Akeh kang ngaku-aku
Pangrasane sampun udani
Tur diwang uruhing rasa
rasa kang satuhu
Rasane rasa priuki
Upayanen darapun sampurno ugi
ing kahuripan iro</i></p> | <p>The wisdom of this life is
never to feel embarrassed if you don't know
accept life
Many who pretend to know
feel that they know
actually don't know about wisdom
The real wisdom
The real indication of wisdom is
to pursue it completely your
entire life.</p> |
| 3. | <p><i>Jroning Qur'an nggoni rasa yekti
Nanging kapilih ingkang uningo
Kajoko lauan tuduhe
Nora keno den atur
Ing Satemah nora pinanggih
Nindak kakalarutan
Temah sasar suster
Yen siro hayon waskito
Sampurnaning ing badaniro priuki
Siro hanggeguruha</i></p> | <p>In the Qur'an is true wisdom
but it has to be guided by experts
and those who are guided by God
One cannot guess
If one cannot understand it
to avoid further mistakes
and wrong interpretations
If you want to pursue wisdom
about real life
find a guru.</p> |
| 4. | <p><i>Nanging siro yen ngeguru kaki</i></p> | <p>But if you choose a guru</p> |

Amilaho manungso kang nyata
Ingkang becik martobat
Sarto kang wuruhing kukum
Kang ngibadah lan kang utrongi
Sukur oleh wong topo
Ingkang wis amungkul
Tan miar pawehing liyan
Iku pantes sira guronono kaki
Sartane katuruhana.

find a real guru
 who behaves morally,
 knows the knowledge
 believes in God and lives in *utrongi*
 much better to have a *topo*⁵ (meditative) guru
 who has reached ultimate happiness
 never thinks of a gift from others
 This guru is an excellent one for you
 Obtain wisdom from this guru.

This song is structured into two parts; the first part is called *bowo* (lead) and the second part is the main song. The *bowo* is sung by a solo singer, while the main song is sung by all *Laras Madya*'s players together with the audience. The function of *bowo* is twofold: to lead the singing and set the kind of *tembang* that people should follow. In terms of content, the *bowo* contains the core theme of the song, whereas the main song elaborates this theme.

In this example, the message carried in the *bowo* refers to the *nrimo* concept, an acceptance of what has been determined by God. Javanese people believe that God has determined a certain scenario for people's lives. "*Nrimo ing pandum*" is a popular Javanese phrase to describe the acceptance of *pandum* (destination) set up by God. A *wayang* performance is a clear metaphor of how Javanese understand the *nrimo* concept. Humans are puppets (*wayang*), and God is the puppeteer (*dalang*). A *wayang* puppet cannot move without the help of the puppeteer. The movement of *wayang* is determined by the puppeteer's will. Another message of the *bowo* song relates to the quest for perfection. These two themes are elaborated in the main song.

The *nrimo* concept is described clearly in the main song by giving an example of accepting God's predestination. The song denigrates the act of *ngaku-ngaku* (pretending). It is a dangerous act for people to behave like

⁵ *Topo* means meditation. In Javanese terms, the word *topo* signifies a condition of living in a very simple way (*sederhana*).

others. The song describes this as a loss of wisdom (*pamedaring wasitaning ati*). The song provides an example of a person who pretends to be a poet, although he/she has no knowledge of poetry. When one recognises that one cannot find wisdom by pretending to be a *pujangga* (master poet), one has to find a teacher of spiritual wisdom. The use of *pujangga* is an important element. In the Javanese courts, the *pujangga* was a spiritual teacher who expressed his teaching through poetry.

Mbah Syam, a leader of *Laras Madya* in Basin, interpreted the song in relation to understanding Islam:

Javanese songs describing Islam in Java have to be perceived carefully. Sometimes it is difficult to grasp the message contained in the songs. The song in fact tells people how to choose an authoritative religious teacher to obtain religious wisdom. According to me, the teacher described in the song is an Islamic teacher. This means that the coming of Islam into Java was predestined (*takdir*) by Allah. Therefore, Javanese people should accept the *takdir*, which implies a welcoming of Islam.

The song also tells people that one cannot pretend to be someone else. When a person does that, it means that he has lost his wisdom. He/she pretends that he/she already knows about the secret of spiritual happiness. Metaphorically, the song describes such a person as someone who is pretending to be a poet. He/she then writes poems relating to the spiritual quest. However, when the poems are understood, they contain nothing at all. In my opinion, this song describes people who reject the coming of Islam. They pretend that they already have spiritual knowledge. Therefore, they refuse to learn spiritual wisdom from another source. This refusal is described as losing wisdom.

When people realise that they lack spiritual wisdom, they have to find a guru who really knows about it. The guru is actually Islam. It is a source of wisdom that has to be explored.

Those comments make two important points about the current understanding of the coming of Islam to Java. Firstly, it is regarded as a destiny determined by God that has to be accepted (*trimo*) by people. Secondly, in accepting Islam, the Javanese have to learn Islam through its experts.

In relation to this discussion, it is clear that Javanese people have applied various strategies in their search for spiritual wisdom. Some followed the Sufi mysticism centred on the court, and others followed the great legacy of *wali sanga*, who are officially associated with traditional

Islam. Meanwhile, modernist and reformist Muslims invented new religious practices by referring to Islam's basic sources to justify their endeavours. These ways may not of course cover all the ways of articulating Islam in Java. The point I want to make is that although there are different ways of articulating and even interpreting Islam in Java, these differences do not mean that any of these various ways of interpretation is a deviant Islam.

Are all these groups Islamic? To answer this question we have to distinguish between theological and anthropological considerations. Theologically, the concept of becoming a Muslim, according to the Sufi approach, involves submission to Allah. If one recognises this submission, one is a Muslim. Abdurrahman Wahid, the leader of the largest traditional Islamic group in Indonesia, argues that Javanese mysticism is Islamic if its followers submit to the one God, Allah, even if these people may not know about the teaching of Islam (Woodward, 1996a:133-154). Nurcholish Madjid, a vocal intellectual Muslim from Indonesia, also argues that Islam can be manifest in both "islam" with a little "i" and Islam with a capital "I". Some of the religious practices of Javanese people who are dedicated to submission to God, can be grouped into the realm of "islam".

At *Kuliah Subuh* (a morning religious lecture) held every Sunday morning after the dawn prayers (*Sholat Subuh*) in front of the biggest mosque in Basin, Pak Chumaidi, a local religious teacher, explained the concept of faith (*iman*). He said:

Confessing *syahadat* consists of three main actions: firstly, the faith should be expressed orally (*bil lisaan*); secondly, it should be believed firmly in your mind (*bil qalb*); thirdly, it should be translated in real practices (*bil 'amal*). Therefore, to confirm confession, it is not sufficient only to confess *syahadat*, it has to be accompanied by the confirmation of mind and actions, meaning observing Islamic teachings. However, it has to be noted that the quality of one's faith sometimes decreases and at other times increases. There is a *hadith* from the Prophet Muhammad saying that, "[the quality of] the faith (*iman*) sometimes increases and

sometimes decreases". This *hadith* teaches Muslims that they must continuously make an effort to increase the quality of their *iman*.

This religious lecture demonstrates the possibility of change—both up and down—in the quality of Muslim-ness. For modernists, the assessment of the quality of a Muslim's Muslim-ness depends on how he/she observes religious duties. If a Muslim observes Islamic teaching diligently, it can be said that his/her quality of Muslim-ness is high. However, if a Muslim does not practise Islamic teachings, it indicates that his/her quality of Muslim-ness is low.

Modernists argue that Muslims have to perform Islamic teachings in their pure forms as prescribed in the Qur'an and the Sunnah. This is because the Qur'an says that a Muslim has to embrace Islam completely.⁶ Modernists do not tolerate religious practices suspected of receiving intrusions from non-Islamic traditions such as *slametan*. Although people recite Islamic prayers at *slametan*, modernists regard such people as Muslims who need to increase their religiosity. Therefore, the one who knows Islam better has to explain to Muslims who know less about the real practice of Islam. The invention of *syukuran* in Basin, modernists agreed, was the result of providing a social forum to replace *slametan*. As Kim found in Yogyakarta, modernists attempted to increase the quality of Muslim-ness in two ways: incorporating Islamic teachings into practice, and giving new meanings to the practice in accordance with Islamic teachings. In Basin, in addition to what Kim found, modernists also invented new religious practices to replace the old, such as *syukuran* to replace *slametan*.

⁶ The Qur'an says, and its translation is: "O ye who believe! Enter into Islam whole-heartedly; and follow not the footsteps of Satan for he is to you an avowed enemy" (2:208).

Another verse of the Qur'an says, and its translation is: "Verily, this is My Way leading straight: follow it: Follow not (other) paths: They will scatter you about from His Path ..." (6:153).

Modernists argued that the *wali*'s work to spread Islam in Java, continued by *kyai* in religious institutions known later as *pesantren*, had to be improved to correspond to contemporary contexts. This means that if previously the *wali* took local practices such as *wayang*, *tembang* (Javanese songs), and traditional dances and music to spread Islam, we now have to use current knowledge to do so. The advance of science and technology has to be used to both spread and practise religion. Therefore, the respect toward *wali* and *kyai* who cemented a strong foundation of Islam in Java was meant to relate to the value, not the form of their work. The celebration of *kaul* or the *Angkawiyu* are merely one of many ways to appreciate the works of *wali* and *kyai*. Their methods of spreading and teaching Islam have to be improved to suit current contexts.

Modernists place a heavier duty of religious caution and responsibility on individual Muslims. Moreover, being literate, modernists argue that they can attempt to find a way to understand religion. For them, the role of the *kyai* is limited.

For traditional Islam, however, the respect of the *wali* does not stop at that; the forms of their practices also have to be preserved. This is because the *wali* found a perfect religious practice that combined Islamic teachings with local contexts. The *Angkawiyu*, for example, was not only a way of teaching Islam but also a religious practice intended to concur with local contexts. Therefore, maintaining the *wali*'s practices also means maintaining the approaches used by them to spread Islam.

People have various degrees of understanding of religion, from basic to advanced. Pak Junaidi explained various levels of Muslims as follows:

There are three kinds of Muslims: beginner, intermediate and advanced Muslims. Beginners are called general Muslims (*awam*) and understand Islamic teaching from its legal/formal aspect. Intermediate Muslims (*khawwas*), understand and practise Islamic teachings not only from the legal/formal aspect but also from its spiritual side. The final group are the extraordinary Muslims (*khatwasul khawwas*) who understand and practise Islam at its highest level ranging from its formal aspect to the esoteric aspect practised by Sufi. The first group is also called

muqallid, people who observe the decisions of *ulama* without knowing the reason behind them. This group just observes Islamic duties as their religious teachers teach them. The second group is called *muttabi'*, people who follow and know the reason behind the decisions. If the second group is asked about the reason for their prayers, they can provide it. The third group is called *alim*, the knowledgeable people who know and can produce a religious decision. These groups exist in Java. There are some people who can be categorised into the first, second or third group.

The ideology of *taqlid*, the duty of ordinary Muslims to follow the *fatwa* (reasoned opinions based on exegesis) of the leading *kyai* and *ulama*, became a key factor of social cohesion between *santri* and *kyai* in *pesantren*. The idea of *taqlid* is also developed well in *tarekat*, so the *murid* (disciples) of the *tarekat* follow instructions from the *mursyid* (guru). Traditional Islam argued that the *taqlid* should be imposed as ordinary Muslims cannot perform religious *ijtihad*. As a consequence, there has to be an active clergy financially supported by ordinary Muslims, to allow the clergy to perform their religious duties. This is one of many reasons for establishing *pesantren* with the full support of Muslims.

According to this view, the understanding of Islam ranges from legal/formal observance to the practise of *tasawuf*. Moreover, in the formation of religious practices, knowing that there are different levels of understanding, people will have different religious experiences. Therefore, traditional Islam sees the *niyat* of actions as the determinant factor of religious actions.

Abdurrahman Wahid's statement relating to the explanation of "islam" with little "i" and Islam with a big "I" indicates the possibilities of a pluralistic understanding of Islam. Literally Islam derives from the Arabic word *sa-la-ma*, which means to submit or to offer peace. The Qur'an (2:132; 16:123)⁷ describes the origin of "islam" as the continuation

⁷ The Qur'an says, and its translation is: "And Abraham enjoined upon his sons and so did Jacob; "Oh my sons! Allah hath chosen the faith for you; then die not except in the state of submission (to me)" (2:132).

of *hanif* traditions, the monotheist faith of Abraham, Noah and the early prophets of the Semitic people. The *hanif* religion, Muslims believe, called for submission to the monotheist God. On the other hand, "Islam" is the religion of Submission to the One God, revealed by God to Muhammad, who was, Muslims believe, the last of many prophets sent to humankind.⁸ Using these explanations, taking or accommodating other traditions, as long as they do not infringe Islamic principles, can be accepted as performing "islam" which recognises the existence of *hanif* traditions.

Although there are some similarities with traditional Islam, Javanised Islam argues that the best way of understanding religion is through personal experience. It is clear from the description of Javanised Islam elaborated in earlier chapters, that people who follow Javanised Islam seem to understand Islam more in terms of "islam" which accommodates a wider understanding. Mbah Gerobag argued that he performed Friday prayers because he acknowledged the possibility of using Islam to communicate with God. However, he would not limit his practice to Islamic practices. It is up to individuals to find a perfect way for their communication with God.

Anthropologically, these various practices may indicate the existence of variants on religious practices, as Geertz has noted. These various practices can also be used as an indication of a Javanese pluralistic understanding of Islam. They could also demonstrate the syncretic nature of religion in Java. However, there are two points that we have to note if we want to understand the position of Islam in Javanese culture. It is surprising that Ricklefs reached the conclusion that Javanese who have embraced Islam are not totally Javanese. Ricklefs seems to have a problem

Another verse says, and its translation is: "Then We revealed to thee. Follow the ways of Abraham the True in Faith (*hanif*), and he joined not gods with Allah" (16:123).

⁸ The Qur'an says, and its translation is: "This day have I perfected your religion for you, completed my favour upon you, and have chosen for you Islam as your religion" (5:3).

in defining what being Javanese is. If he regards Islam as a foreign belief for the Javanese, which religion is not foreign to them? Why did he not label Javanese Hinduism or Buddhism as not Javanese? If the answer is that these two religions have been present for a long time, then how about Islam in the modern era, since Islam has also been in Java for a long time?

It seems that Ricklefs and others focus more on Islam in the court, neglecting the life of ordinary people outside the court. Ricklefs is certainly court-centred, as he is a pioneer in the research on court manuscripts. Ricklefs' latest book, *The Seen and Unseen Worlds of the Javanese Court* (1998) provides a clear picture of his tendency to explain Islam in Java with reference to the existence of Islam in the Javanese court.

Mbah Syam, when he encountered such questions, answered by providing the example of the concept of "*ngalim*" and "*durung ngalim*" (knowledgeable, and not yet knowledgeable).

Previously I did not agree with the youngsters who promoted vocally the renewal of Islam by purifying Islamic practices from the influence of Javanese traditions. What is wrong with that? The most important thing for me is that they are practising Islam in accordance with their local environment. These people pray, fast during the month of *Ramadhan* and believe in the One God. It is up to the people to interpret Islam, provided these practices do not oppose Islam.

However, now I can understand the intention to renew Islam. Previously, I was a *modin* (a religious officer) who managed religious affairs such as childbirth, death and so forth. Sometimes I had to give a prayer or even a speech on Islam. As a *modin* I was regarded as the most knowledgeable person on Islam. Now, I realise that my Islamic knowledge is very slight. For example, after learning how to read Arabic correctly, I knew that my previous reading was wrong. Therefore, I can understand the intention to renew Islam to direct Islam in a better way. Becoming a Muslim is a process, there are some Muslims who can be grouped as *ngalim*, knowledgeable, and *durung ngalim*, not yet knowledgeable. The process of becoming Muslim should continue from *durung ngalim* to *ngalim*.

Nevertheless, I still insist that there is no harm in the fact that Javanese culture has coloured the practice of Islam in Java, as long as there is no real opposition to the basics of Islamic teachings. It is the natural character of Javanese peoples who believe in a circle of life. Previously I adored the old teaching, right now I follow the youngsters. Maybe in the future, I will learn something else.

To sum up, the history of Islam is one of constant development, dispute, and interpretation. The Muslim tradition, as manifested differently in Muslim societies ranging from Morocco to Aceh, is best

perceived as an intellectual, spiritual and social struggle to determine and apply the meaning of the message of Islam. In a never-ending endeavour, Muslims strive to determine the perfect expression of the relation between humans and God. Muhammad, the prophet who was chosen by God to receive the Islamic message, is considered to be a perfect symbol of the legalist, the mystic and the ever-popular cult of saints.

The various understandings of Islam discussed in the preceding chapters have to be understood as Javanese religious thoughts and actions mirroring the diversity of the Muslim traditions as a whole. Mbah Syam's statement is a clear indication that the Javanese people will always strive to find the perfect picture of their religious realm. Therefore, these variants of understanding Islam in Java are processes to pursue the perfection of religious practice. Of course there are some influences from Javanese traditions that make Javanese Islam unique. However, it should be noted that such a characteristic is not distinctively unique to Javanese Islam. If there is a different way of interpreting Islam in Java which is coloured by local tradition, as also happens in other Muslim societies, it has to be perceived as the contribution of Javanese people in understanding Islam.

Chapter VII

Popular Islam in Central Java

*A boundary is not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognised, the boundary is that from which something begins its presencing [sic].*¹

1. Introduction

In studying popular Sufism in Egypt, Gilsenan (1973) argued that the increase in organisational Sufism, popularly named *tariqa*, occurred during a period of "retreat, instability and social dislocation". Moreover, according to Gilsenan, the spread of the practise of popular Sufism is also supported by social conditions: an internal condition—the upsurge of tribal groups—and external factors—the intrusion of an external political power such as colonialism. However, Nurcholish Madjid (1994) argues that the increasing number of people practising *tariqa* such as in Indonesia, especially in big cities, is an indication of an increase in Islamic understanding.

The geographical and numerical expansion of the *turuq*, the plural of *tariqa*, has been dramatic in scale. They exist wherever those who call themselves Muslims exist—across the whole of the Near and Middle East, through West and Central Africa, the Sudan, the Horn of Africa, and the East Africa coast to India and into Southeast Asia. Popular Sufism is a prominent aspect of Islamic religious life in North Africa (Eickelman, 1976; Eickelman and Piscatory, 1990; Evans-Pritchard, 1973; Gellner, 1969; Gilsenan, 1973; Trimingham, 1971). At an early stage of Islamisation, there

¹ Martin Heidegger, "*Building, Dwelling, Thinking*", quoted in Homi Bhabha, 1997:1.

was no single life that was not influenced by popular Sufism. Maraboutism, as the vernacular language of Moroccan society identifies popular *tariqa*, has been the centre of religious, social and political affairs. Although in recent decades its role has declined significantly, Maraboutism in Africa is still the heart of the "religion of everyday life" (Eickelman, 1976:236).

In Java, during the early development of Islam, popular Sufism also played a significant role. The massive spread of Islam throughout Java, according to many scholars, is the result of popular Sufism. In short, popular Sufism has been one of the main missionary channels of the conversion of non-Arabic peoples to Islam. The masses accepted popular Sufism because at the time, especially in the early stages of Islamisation, popular Sufism became an institution that provided a means of incorporating local religious customs and beliefs into its eclectic fold with an Islamic colouring. Popular Sufism also equipped the masses to absorb indigenous religious elements into Islamic practices. In Java the life of the Javanese pious people (*wali*), the founders of Islam in Java, bear witness to the success of popular Islam in adapting to local cultures (Fox, 1991).

Popular Islam is an ambiguous concept. On the one hand, observing Islam through popular religion provides a means to perceive the rich relationship between religion and local culture. The formation of religious practice in a locality can be examined through popular religion. On the other hand, contrasting popular Islam to formal or official Islam is problematic. As has happened in other Muslim societies where social and political changes have so rapidly occurred, the nature of popular Islam in a complex society is a difficult one to describe and is capable of no easy summary. Although some scholars have tried to define popular Islam by discerning the religious tendencies in various societies, ranging from Morocco to Mindanao in the Philippines, there are still some difficulties in

defining it. Some scholars perceive it as Islamic practices that have been influenced by local traditions (Lings, 1971; Waardenburg, 1979; Zwemer, 1939). Its existence is in opposition to formal Islam, which is governed by more legalistic and textual understandings of Islam (Waardenburg, 1979). Sufism, with its *tariqa* of orders, has been regarded as the manifestation of popular Islam because of the rich practice of Sufism shaped by accepting local cultures. A popular celebration such as *Maulid*—celebrating the birth of the Prophet Muhammad—performed in a local context, exemplifies the physical existence of popular Islam.

Islam in its mystical form in Java may be taken to represent popular Islam there. The colourful practise of Sufism in Java, in addition to following the mainstream of Sufi tradition, has been constructed under the influence of local knowledge, including mysticism inspired by Hindu-Buddhist traditions. In this regard, Sufism can be said to represent popular religion. However Sufism is only one characteristic of popular Islam in Java. The multiplicity of the voices of Islam and the oscillation of religious orientations are among the many features of popular Islam in Java. I argue that the study of popular Islam must explore the way in which local people interpret Islam in accordance with the local context. Moreover, popular Islam can be used to appreciate the rich and dynamic interaction of Islam in Java.

We can learn from the explanations given by villagers in Basin and the ceremony of *Angkawiyu* in Jatinom. These two villages demonstrate the way religious orientation can change. In Basin, for example, the change of religious orientation can be seen in the way in which people attach themselves to a particular Islamic organisation. The change can also be observed in the political scene of the election of the village chief. In Jatinom, on the other hand, the change can be observed from the different interpretations of the celebration of *Angkawiyu*. Furthermore, the new

interpretation of *Angkawiyu* and the shift of religious orientation in Basin yield a new way of examining political and social relations among the villagers in both communities.

In his recently edited book, Woodward, with a suggestion from Taufik Abdullah, a prominent Indonesian historian, proposed a new paradigm for Islam in Indonesia, especially in Java (Woodward, 1996b). In this work, Woodward argues for the importance of changing perceptions of the position on Islam in the Indonesian social and political map. It has been long argued, especially through the work of non-Indonesian scholars, that Islam is marginal. From the work of Raffles, until the work of Geertz, Woodward argues there is a similar line of thought in presenting the marginalised status of Islam in Java. There are two central arguments for this position. Firstly, the heavy influence of Javanese culture on Islam implies the latter's syncretic character, which demonstrates the weak position of Islam in Java. Secondly, as a continuation of the first factor, studies of Islam within its formal and legal form based on *fiqh* have concluded that Islam in Java is marginal. There is no doubt that both views remain true to fact, however describing Islam in Java from that angle alone would be inadequate. As a social reality, the interaction between Islam and local cultures is a continuous process, shaping and being shaped. Marshall Hodgson claims that the "folk" culture of Islam closely resembles Islam's "high" culture (Hodgson, 1974a:80-81).

Islam in Java can, therefore, be observed in popular Islam but from a different perspective. This approach aims to discern Islam in a certain locality. As discussed by Woodward (1996a), the failure to picture Islam in Java is because scholars have attempted to study Islam from the centre, from its central political power, such as the sultanate, the court and Arabic society. Yet the creativity of Islam in a locality often provides a

different and stunning portrait. This chapter describes the process of religious rationalisation in Java as the basis of religious changes. Furthermore, this chapter examines the oscillation of religious orientation which enriches the Islamic discourse in Java. It also discusses continuity and change as well as the debate about the concept of a "good Javanese Muslim" to describe the underlying notion of the pluralistic nature of people's interpretations.

2. Religious and Cultural Rationalisation

One centripetal theme of Weber's sociology is the notion of the progressive rationalisation of life. By rationalisation Weber implied a process whereby explicit, intellectually calculable rules and procedures are systematised and specified, and increasingly substituted for sentiment and tradition. This theme is also a unifying theme of Weber's sociology of religion: the increasing systematisation of religious ideas and concepts, the growth of ethical rationalism, and the progressive decline of ritual and magical elements in religion. Although Weber's concept of rationalisation is undoubtedly the central and most enticing notion, it is also the most problematic. This is because Weber's elucidation of rationalisation insinuates three quite different senses, identified by Swidler (1973) as (1) rationalism—efficient orientation of means to ends, (2) rationalisation—the systematisation of ideas, and (3) rationality—the control of action by ideas.

For Parsons, from a different perspective, Weber's concept of religious rationalisation comprises several meanings (Parsons, 1993:xlii). Firstly, rationalisation means "the intellectual clarification, specification and systematisation of ideas," generated from what Weber called the human conception of the world order that governs people's action and directs their place and role within the universe. Secondly, rationalisation

comprises "normative control or sanction". This means that human actions are goal-oriented, meaning that the "cultural plan"—the fundamental hierarchy of human beings—must control actions. Thirdly, rationalisation also implies motivation and commitment, meaning that there is a willingness to provide "motivational commitment"—belief—and "practical commitment"—action (Parsons, 1993:xlii).

Morris argues that when explaining the concept of rationalisation, Weber was basically an evolutionary who was concerned with the decay of "traditional European culture and society", altered by "modern science and industrial capitalism", and systematised by "bureaucratisation and political centrality" (Morris, 1991:68). Although it is true that Weber's concept of rationalisation is inspired by the history of Western society, Weber maintains that rationalisation does occur throughout human history. In religious terms, Weber argues that rationalisation is "a powerful source of religious change" (Swidler, 1993:xv).

In discussing the conjuncture prompting religious rationalisation, Weber argues that there are two significant conditions. Firstly, rationalisation is a necessary condition for religious elites to accommodate and to facilitate the understanding of religion by the masses. In doing so, these elites strive to formulate interpretations of religion according to local needs. Secondly, religious rationalisation occurs when there are disparities between religious teachings and reality. For example, if a religion proclaims that an all-powerful God created and controls the world, the very existence of suffering and evil becomes problematic. Previously, believers could come to their religious specialists such as *ulama*, Sufi leaders or priests, seeking alleviation from suffering or promises of a better life in the world to come. However, having been told that a unified power, that is God, governs the world, they ask why a just God permits evil to flourish. In Weber's conjecture, the more

contradictions it creates, the stronger the impulse for religious rationalisation (Parsons, 1993:xlii-xliii).

Weber's concept of rationalisation, which he perceived in line with evolutionary theory as the last stage of development from charisma through the traditional and then to the rational, provides a tool to understand the impulse for religious change. Using this concept of rationalisation of religion, I argue that popular Islam in Java, though it does not completely imitate Weber's theory, is defined through the process of rationalisation. The religious rationalisation which has developed in Java is a process in which a religion attempts to rationalise its teachings to adapt to a social context. However, unlike other aspects of Weber's assumption that religious rationalisation is a result of the incompatibility between some religious teachings and social reality, the process of religious rationalisation in Java has been accelerated most importantly by an external push.

Religious rationalisation is a general phenomenon for all religions. However, Robert Hefner applied the concept in a different way. Hefner's study, if not criticism, is an addition to Weber's concept. By observing the dynamic change of Agama Budha Tengger at the time of compulsory religious affiliation, Hefner demonstrated religious rationalisation was provoked by an external push. The formal regulation drafted by the Department of Religious Affairs stated that a religion had to have a holy book, a prophet, rituals and a God. Previously, Tengger people regarded their religion as Agama Budha Jawa, believing in the existence of Buddha. The tale of Ajisaka and Muhammad², which once was a symbol of the

² The tale of Ajisaka and Muhammad was once a famous story throughout Java. The story is told differently in different regions. The main argument of the tale is about the supreme spiritual power of two heroes, Buddha and Muhammad. Spiritual happiness could be obtained through the teaching of both these heroes (for further detail of the story see Hefner, 1980). Hefner used the tale of Ajisaka and Muhammad to portray how people in Tengger attempted

harmonious relation between Buddhism and Islam in that region, gives evidence of the strong existence of Buddhism in Tengger. However, given the necessity to meet certain requirements to be legally acknowledged as a religion, Agama Budha Tengger was at a crossroad. On the one hand, Agama Budha Tengger had to survive since the people who live in the area surrounding Mount Tengger maintained that if their traditions were not recognised, their social and cultural inheritance would be endangered. On the other hand, in order to preserve their traditions they had to meet the criteria which were determined by the Department of Religious Affairs, largely in accordance with Islamic principles (Hefner, 1985).

In the end, the people of Tengger chose to preserve their traditions by "rationalising" their religion. When their religious elites compared the Tengger religion with others to see if there was any possibility to merge, they found that Hindu Bali seemed to be the closest religion. Therefore, some of their religious elites went to Bali to study the religion intensively. Then it was declared that the Tengger religion would adopt the traditions of Hindu Bali.

Unlike Weber, Hefner argues that religious rationalisation of the Tengger religion was primarily determined by external factors. Agama Budha Tengger, previously called Budha Tengger, had been the main religion of the people living around the mountain and centred on the veneration of the Mount Tengger. Each year there was a big ceremony, *Kasada*, giving honour to the guardian of the mountain. The rapid spread of Islam in Java, including this region, forced the Tengger people to redefine their religion to face the outside challenge. The dominance of

to create "a new self-definition" within a changing society. As Tengger traditions are threatened by Islamisation in Java, the *Ajisaka* tale is conceptualised as "a pan-Javanese identity" which accommodates the Islamic heritage and the heritage of Tengger (Hefner, 1985:140-141).

Islam in determining religious characteristics in Indonesia forced Agama Budha Tengger, which had no holy scripture, no idea of the oneness of God and no prophet, to negotiate with the government to sustain their religion. As a result, the Tengger people identified their religion with Hindu Bali.

From Hefner's explanation, it is clear that the reformation of the Tengger religion was not because the people of Tengger experienced secularisation or "disenchantment" in a Weberian sense. There is nonetheless something true in the idea that the religious reformation in Tengger displayed little confidence in the traditions of a small-scale society. The Islamisation of Java caused this lack of confidence in Tengger's local traditions.

The discourse behind the existence of popular Islam in Java, as described at length in preceding chapters, has developed through rationalisation. However, this rationalisation does not follow either Weber's or Hefner's model. The rationalisation of popular Islam in Java is in accordance with the intention to accommodate both Islam and local cultures. There is a force among Javanese Muslims themselves that promotes the rationalisation, i.e. through accommodation of their religion in order to identify with the local culture. Moreover, it is also true that the different character of Islam and local cultures has forced the people to rationalise religion. The process of rationalisation of religion in Java has been accomplished through both factors.

The emergence of popular Islam in Java can also be perceived through the concepts of "social location" of Karl Mannheim and "cultural location" of Homi Bhabha. Eickelman used Mannheim's theory of "social location" to state that individuals are "located in a certain economic class or related in a certain way to the power structure of a given society regardless of whether they are conscious of it" (Eickelman, 1976:216).

When individuals enter into a certain social context, they will be limited to experience "a certain characteristic mode of thought and experience" in accordance with the historical characteristics of that social context. Similarly, religious beliefs, or other ideas, will be bound to a certain social and historical context, in Foucault's discourse, that surrounds them. In studying popular Islam in Morocco, especially the role and power of the Marabouts, Eickelman divided Moroccan history into three periods. Firstly, the period of Maraboutic hegemony, when the Marabouts were central to Moroccan religious and social life, as was apparent from their wide involvement in political, economic, and social roles. Secondly, the period of the Pax Gallica, the era after the establishment of the French protectorate in Morocco, in which the Marabouts were turned into local officials who no longer had extensive social roles. The final period was the epoch of the Second World War and its aftermath, marked by a rapidly changing social climate in Morocco, such as the growth of new economic and political elites who then marginalised the role of the Marabouts (Eickelman, 1976:214-215). This last period witnessed the fragmentation of the role of the Marabouts in Morocco, "from centre to periphery" (Eickelman, 1976:211).

By periodising the "generation location" of social and religious life, Eickelman attempted to portray the process of transformation of popular beliefs. Changes in religious beliefs, according to Weber's concept of religious rationalisation, have always been strongly influenced by social location and social contexts. The Marabouts became central to social transformation in the early period of Morocco because of the fact that in the period when there were no other social associations, the religious institutions organised through *tariqa* were readily available. Furthermore, the characteristics of Maraboutism, which is grounded in the practise of Sufism where social cohesion is built through total submission to the Sufi

leaders, tied society within the circle of Maraboutic families and their *zawiya* lodges to a Sufi order.

The study of the "little tradition of Islam" in a locality provided the insight that the "forms of transmission of knowledge available in a society shape and accommodate social and cultural change" (Eickelman, 1976:487). The implication of Eickelman's acknowledgment of the importance of history and social experience in understanding religious change in a certain locality lies in examining the way in which different social forms uphold different forms of knowledge. This means that a certain social arrangement in a locality with certain symbols of knowledge will characterise religious changes in that society in its own way.

Following these arguments, we see how popular Islam in Java is manifested in various religious practices. *Angkawiyu* is one clear example. Firstly, the rituals colouring the celebration of *Angkawiyu*, which range from Friday prayers and meditation to chanting *dhikr*, provide a window to see the "meaning", "symbols", "social experience", and "voices" behind the rituals. Geertz maintains that behind any ritual there are "cultural meanings" that one has to uncover through thick description. Eickelman and Hefner argue that ritual should be perceived through a historical account as ritual is always formed, changed and learned in different ways in different societies (Eickelman, 1976; Hefner, 1985). Furthermore, Hefner maintains that since religious existence cannot be separated from social context, ritual has to be understood through "social experience". This means that understanding rituals is "to ask not only what the ritual tradition means, but what it means for different social actors and how, in a historical or genetic sense, it has come to acquire those meanings" (Hefner, 1985:11).

Therefore, popular Islam in a certain sense should not be labelled "syncretic" as is widely used. The use of this label is not only problematic in a theoretical sense but also does not comprehensively encompass the nature of religious changes. Theoretically, the term "syncretic" is simplistic as it is difficult to classify any religion that is not syncretised with so-called "local cultures". Islam, for example, studied from North Africa, the Middle East, Persia and the Indian sub-continent to Indonesia, shows that there is a constant interaction between Islam and local knowledge and cultures. As Nasr (1987) has pointed out, the development of Islam is accomplished through historical processes involving the interaction of Islam and local cultures.

In addition, the syncretic theory ignores the importance of the cultural and social location that determines the process of interaction. This means that syncretism is a simplification of a variety of processes involved in the formation of religious practices. As Hefner argues, social experience in a certain society will determine the nature of ritual practices. Hefner demonstrates that Tengger has transmitted religious knowledge in a different way compared to other societies. In most cases, the privileged transmission of liturgy to priests and families which characterises the religious rationalisation in Tengger is elitist. Furthermore, the Tengger experience of the extensive and vast process of Islamisation in its surrounding areas forced it to accommodate to, if not syncretise with, Balinese Hinduism.

Therefore, the process of religious systematisation as a response to the need to interpret religion in accordance with local conditions, on the one hand, affects the existence of popular Islam characterised by the accommodation of local cultures. On the other hand, popular Islam is a result of cultural rationalisation, as religion cannot be separated from its

social and cultural location. This, in turn, leads to a discussion of the continuity and change of religious affiliation.

3. Continuity and Change in Religious Orientation

Gellner proposes a theory that religion has two extreme poles: the orthodox (C) at one pole and reformist (P) at the other. Throughout its existence religion has been characterised by a swing, like a pendulum, between these two poles (Gellner, 1969; 1984:127-138). This theory of "pendulum swing" is inspired by Hume's theory of religious evolution. In *The Natural History of Religion*, Hume (1956) discussed several theories of religion. Hume began with rather a conventional theory which stated that religion has a "unilineal kind of religious progression" from polytheism to monotheism. However, he then proceeded with an interesting concept concerning a permanent oscillation in religious phenomena: the swinging between polytheistic and monotheistic beliefs. According to Hume, there is a general tendency in every religion to progress from polytheism to monotheism and then back again to polytheism, without end. Applying this "pendulum swing" theory, to its extreme, religion will swing to one extreme (C), and then slowly swing back again to the other extreme (P) endlessly.

Gellner applies this theory to his study of the struggle between *ulama*, who represent the one pole, and Sufi, as the other pole, in the Maraboutic society of Morocco. The history of Moroccan society is relentlessly characterised by the struggle between the *ulama* and Sufi. Sociologically these two poles can be differentiated through their elites. The (C) pole led by *ulama* is favoured by urban Muslim people, whereas

the (P) pole led by Sufi is favoured by rural people.³ In this particular Muslim society, Gellner showed that Moroccan society follows this theory of oscillation.

Ibn Khaldun's (1958) theory that Muslim society is based on urban society, implies that the religious, political and economic movements among rural and marginal populations depend upon the civilisation of the city. This famous theory, which is known as "the tribal oscillation of elites", draws much on the argumentation that political power, especially in tribal societies and the like, is centred on the urban. However, as it is fragmented into speciality and power associations, the cohesion of urban people is weakened. On the other hand, rural and marginal populations have strong social cohesion. When the central power of urban people weakens, rural people can overwhelm them. Destroying the previous urban elites in turn, these rural people base themselves in a town, either taking over the previous centre or building their own. They in turn succumb to urban life and are in due course replaced. The general theory of oscillation is thus established.

It seems that Ibn Khaldun's theory is a complement to Hume's theory. While Hume provided a general pattern of religious oscillation which focuses more on the psychological aspect of religion, Ibn Khaldun (1958) provides a sociological basis for the oscillation. It has to be noted, however, that this combined theory of Hume and Ibn Khaldun is not the only theory encompassing all aspects of religious oscillation. As Gellner notes, for example, Islam and Christianity have quite different features. While Christianity is centred on the prominent ecclesiastical clergy of priest and church, in Islam there is no such centrality. In Islam, as Ibn

³ Gilsenan also provided evidence that *tariqa* in Egypt are favoured more by rural people. However, he also argued that recently urban people have tended to practise *tariqa*. For Trimmingham, some Sufi orders, such as Tijaniyah, survive in urban areas.

Khaldun (1958) shows, peripheral regions, such as those in rural areas, play a significant roles in shaping religious development.

The change of religious tendencies described in chapter IV demonstrates a clear example of the oscillation theory. Basin people, who once upheld the practices of traditional Islam characterised by rituals and religious symbols absorbed from previous cultural values, proceeded to embrace modernist Islam by establishing Muhammadiyah. When Muhammadiyah dominated the village religious practices and discourses, there was a push to replace it. Then the people turned to the old religious practices once more. The oscillation of religious orientation in this village can be interpreted through Ibn Khaldun's approach.

The success of Muhammadiyah in the domination of religious discourse in Basin was due, in part, to their success in attracting support from the youth and educated people among the ordinary villagers. The administrative power in Basin was dominated by *priyayi*, noble descendants. The *punggawa desa*, the leaders of village power, the *lurah* (village chief), *carik* (secretary), *modin* (religious officers), *bayan* (information officer), and *ulu-ulu* (irrigation officer), were all *priyayi*. After Indonesian independence, although limited, there were schools available for ordinary people. However, only the children of *priyayi* enjoyed the privilege of schooling. Some others went to *pesantren* in Surakarta, or joined the Catholic school in the town of Klaten. The youth educated at the *pesantren* and at the private Catholic school transmitted their knowledge to their friends when they returned to the village.

After the death of the village chief who was appointed as chief for life, there was a strong demand from the people that the leadership should be determined through an election. At the first election, the youth lost. However, despite this loss, they managed to attract significant numbers of supporters. The kindergarten and elementary school the

young people sponsored were running well. Furthermore, their introduction of a new method of teaching the Qur'an and its commentary in mosques was well received by the villagers. The remarkable impact of these developments was that Islamic religious practices, such as fasting during *Ramadhan*, the congregation for the five times daily prayers, and the organisation of alms giving, were then eagerly followed by the villagers. On the basis of these successes, the youth and their organisation Muhammadiyah obtained "power" in the election of the village chief.

However, with the decline of this support, the candidate supported by the Muhammadiyah organisation was easily defeated in the next election, held in February 1998. There are various arguments to explain this defeat. For example, the national political environment strongly rejected the leadership of Soeharto, one of the longest serving presidents in the world. It was unfortunate that the candidate had served as the village chief for roughly ten years. Therefore, the people's feeling was to follow the trend of national politics for change. They sought to ask for the village chief to step down, paralleling the students' demand in demonstrations for President Soeharto to step down.

But the fundamental factor that caused the defeat of Muhammadiyah's candidate was the weakening of the organisation's social cohesion. This can be seen from the various opinions voiced during the meeting to determine the election strategy. There was no strong leadership to push a single strategy. The conflict within the elite of the organisation brought about the fragmentation of supporters. This situation aptly demonstrates the theory of Ibn Khaldun.

The decline of Muhammadiyah began when a group of people disappointed with the organisation started to follow the old practices, previously banned by Muhammadiyah, as a form of protest. This group deliberately performed *slametan* with *tahlil*—reciting there is no God but

Allah—to facilitate the soul of the dead to meet God. Furthermore, they also revitalised *Laras Madya*, traditional music played with *rebana*. Such a practice was rejected by Muhammadiyah as it was regarded as a waste of money. The money used for *slametan*, Muhammadiyah argued, would be better spent on education or economic investment to improve the villagers' quality of life.

The gap between Muhammadiyah and this protest group widened when their rivalry entered politics. Supported by the government, the group strengthened its position through building a mosque for their centre, and publicly announced that their religious affiliation was to traditional Islam, namely Nahdlatul Ulama. Ibn Khaldun argued that when elites hold power, social cohesion will loosen and be replaced by the power of marginal people. The people who protested were marginalised—in terms of involvement in the organisation and in terms of religious practices—at the time that Muhammadiyah's supporters took control of the village. Thus, when the social cohesion of Muhammadiyah weakened, their power emerged. Therefore, in the last election this group won quite easily.

If this concept is applied to an analysis of religion in Java, it seems that the swing of the religious pendulum can be monitored. Once people in Basin followed the "Islam" that interacted actively with local knowledge. This Islam was centred upon the *kyai*, a traditional religious teacher who usually owns a *pesantren* or a mosque used for teaching Islam. The traditions of Javanese *kyai* are rich with ritual practices which have seemingly created a ritualistic type of religious and worldly life. As the development of Islam in Java cannot be separated from its "social and cultural location", Islamic religious practices have to express this social context. The insistence on consulting "local traditions" in religious practices is not simply a matter of mixing Islam with other traditions. For

kyai it is a matter of the validity of the transmission of Islamic teachings in a certain locality. They argue that Islam in Java, with its own Javanese characteristics, has been built through generations of religious teachers, among them the Javanese *wali*. Therefore, this chain of transmission cannot be cut. For this group, maintaining the traditions of Islam in Java means continuing Islamisation in Java. Progress should not be achieved through the abandonment of these religious traditions.

Other groups, especially those who ally themselves with modernist Islam, however, argue that to understand and perform pure Islamic teachings, we must rely directly on the Qur'an and the Hadith. This means that these two books should be consulted to give legitimation to all Islamic religious practices. The corrupted religious practices which have no basis in the Qur'an and the Hadith must be corrected. Therefore, *ijtihad*, the right of individual interpretation and judgment of the Qur'an and the Hadith, should be open for all Muslims. Opening the gate of *ijtihad* by no means entails neglecting the works and efforts of previous Muslim scholars and experts. Their works have provided a basis for the next generation. However, consulting their works by no means implies following their views all the time. Nonetheless, keeping the chain of transmission involves using them as a reference to obtain a better understanding of issues. If the next generation of Muslim scholars have a better view and argument, this must be recognised.

In regard to the traditions of Islam in Java, this modernist group argues that what has been done by the Javanese *wali* in spreading Islam through Java is an ongoing process. If the Javanese *wali* used some local traditions to spread Islam, they attempted to bridge the gap between Islam and local traditions, and to systematise Islam with reference to local cultures in order to interpret it in accordance with local conditions. It is therefore the task for the next Muslim generation to complete the work of

the Javanese *wali*. As social and political contexts have changed, an effort is needed to interpret Islam. By returning to basic Islamic roots—the Qur'an and the Hadith—the process of building Islamic traditions in Java continues.

In many respects the existence of traditionalists, modernists and local Islam such as Javanised Islam in Klaten is indeed an illustration of a universal phenomenon, in that defenders in their camps eschew cultural-specific arguments and, more importantly, advocate religious continuity. However, their discourses, although similarities can be found in other Muslim societies, evoke the dynamic nature of Islam in Java. Modernist discourse appears particularly "value-rational", focusing as it does on rational judgment in practising religion. In managing *zakat*, for example, modernists use a more rational base for their activities. *Zakat* for them is an economic theory for helping the poor. On the other hand, traditional discourse exhibits a more "spiritual-rational" nature, concerned more with the "religiosity of actions". This means that giving *zakat*, for traditionalists, is not merely a way of assisting the poor, but represents an *ibadah* (pious act).

However, rationalisation is not the trajectory in a single consistent direction that Weber predicted. It seems apparent that the push for rationalisation of religion that brings about religious changes not only derives from internal impulses, but also comes from an external push. Hefner, as has been highlighted, suggests that the rationalisation of Agama Budha Tengger occurred because of the external push of growing Islamisation in Java. Bowen demonstrated that the process of religious rationalisation in Gayo society also occurred as a reaction to external challenges (Bowen, 1993:320-323). The challenge from modernist Muslims who promote religious change with reference to modernity, has pushed traditionalist Muslims, especially in *pesantren*, to rationalise their religious

thought by maintaining a coherent and systematic transmission of knowledge, an intellectual chain (Bowen, 1993). Therefore, Bowen argued that rationalisation in Islam is "less [as] a matter of unreflective thinking becoming more reflective than a matter of increasing pressures on religious practitioners to articulate their beliefs vis-à-vis other sets of beliefs" (1993:321-322). In Basin, modernist Islam emphasises the social and economical aspect of Islamic teachings, whereas traditionalist Islam focuses more on religiosity of Islamic teachings.

For the Javanese, the debate about change and continuity is related to disputes about how to define a good Javanese Muslim. The question of continuity is an important factor, as their concept of continuity will affect their affiliation to a particular Javanese Muslim identity. Using the term Javanese Muslim does not mean to confine their existence to only one variant. However, its use signifies this category as "social marker" or social identifier. The variants of *abangan*, *santri*, Javanised Islam, *kebatinan* and *priyayi* have a real meaning as social markers rather than as ideological groups (Jamhari, 1995).

4. Disputes Over the Concept of "A Good Javanese Muslim"

Let us return to Ricklefs's early finding that, generally, Javanese people do not seem to pay serious attention to religious attachment as shown by their adaptability and flexibility in embracing religion (Ricklefs, 1979; 1993b). Once Javanese were animists, and then they became true believers of Hinduism and Buddhism. When Islam spread into the island, Javanese people willingly accepted it as their religion. Scholars have argued that there are several reasons why Islam spread so widely in Java. Johns (1985) argued that the mystical characteristic of Islam, in some senses similar to Javanese mysticism, led the Javanese people to accept Islam. Furthermore, through the work of local Sufi, Islam spread

throughout Java without any significant resistance. Dhofier (1985) complemented Johns' finding that Sufism, elaborated through the tradition of *pesantren*, prompted the success of promoting Islam in Java.

In addition, Islam was accepted by Javanese people because it was embraced by the Javanese courts as the basis of their spiritual beliefs (Woodward, 1989). Although Ricklefs strongly rejected this claim, Woodward maintained that, in so far as Islam coloured the spiritual life of court elites, it can be said that Islam has become the spiritual symbol of the Javanese court. In the Yogyakarta court, where Woodward did his study, symbols ranging from the siting of the court to secret regalia were interpreted in accordance with Islamic mysticism. As the court, the centre of Javanese religious orientation, had incorporated Islam into its spiritual beliefs and symbols, Javanese people emulated the spiritual life of Islam.

For Simuh, however, the court's accommodation of Islamic teachings was sparked by the emergence of a strong "tradition of *wong cilik*—ordinary people" in contrast to "the tradition of [the] court" (Simuh, 1995). Led by *wali* and *kyai* in rural and marginal areas, *wong cilik* built centres based on *pesantren*-like religious institutions with Sufism as their spiritual bond. In contrast, the tradition of the court was mainly characterised by the mysticism derived from Hinduism and Buddhism. As the *pesantren* grew rapidly throughout Java, the court elite promoted Islamic Sufism to soften the tension between them.

Unlike the coming of Islam in the sub-continent through military conquest, Islam came to Java in quite a peaceful way, through Sufism and trade (Ali and Effendy, 1986; Azra, 1989; 1994). The implication of this Islamisation is that in Java there emerged a kind of positive interaction which resulted in some intrusion of local cultures into Islamic religious practices. Furthermore, the "slow method" of Islamisation in Java provided a chance for people to adopt Islam in a gradual fashion. This

means that the process of Islamisation in Java has been continuous. Javanese people have aptly described the process as moving from being *durung 'alim*—naive about Islam—to *'alim*—sophisticated about Islam (Jamhari, 1995). Therefore, the variants suggested by Geertz, for example, are to be understood as a process of understanding Islam. In his study of the tradition of *pesantren*, Dhofier (1985) argued that even in the traditional *pesantren*, *kyai* made some changes to respond the new social environment.

5. The Swing of Religious Experience

Some youths used to read the Qur'an and its exegesis published by the Department of Religious Affairs, their heads moving slowly in accordance to the rhythm of the reading. Many of them cried as they experienced the spiritual happiness obtained from reading the Qur'an, the words of God. They read the Qur'an as if they were communicating with God. Wearing a *jubah*—a long white robe which covers the whole body down to the feet—and *surban*—a white turban—and prayer beads in their hands counting the number of their *dhikr*, these youths were university students of famous universities in Yogyakarta, Semarang and Surakarta. They also left their beards and hair to grow long. "We are following the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad", they answered when people enquired of their behaviour.

However, right now that situation has changed dramatically. These students do not wear their *jubah* and *surban*, and they do not grow their hair and beard long anymore. They wear suits like normal people do. Nevertheless, they keep reading the Qur'an and listening to Islamic lectures held in the mosque. The topics discussed in their gatherings have also changed. Previously, their discussion was dominated by the argument of establishing an Islamic state and enforcing the Islamic law.

Today, they talk about the emergence of civil society (*masyarakat madani*) which has become the paramount discourse of political Indonesia. For example, in a *Jum'at* prayer one of their leaders gave a sermon (*khutbah*) about the requirements of the development of civil society. He said:

As a simple explanation, a civil society is a just, prosperous, morally guided society, well governed, and ruled by law. In other words, the concept of civil society is more or less the manifestation of the well-known Arabic dictum, "*Baldatun Taysyibatun wa Rabbun Ghafur*—a prosperous nation blessed by God". To develop such a society, there are some conditions. Firstly, we need to develop a tolerant attitude to other groups. As Indonesia consists of various ethnicities and religions, Indonesian people have to maintain a tolerant spirit as a prime priority. Secondly, we need to put the law as our supreme order. Thirdly, morality has to lead our behaviour and political decisions. Fourthly, we must keep working dynamically. Fifth, appreciation has to be bestowed on people who have creative and innovative thinking. Finally, progressive thinking is a significant aspect to develop Indonesia.

This *khutbah* was totally different to a sermon given by the same person some years earlier.

The following account is the story of a young university student who acknowledged himself to be a Muslim pursuing true Islam. He was a grandson of a *modin* (religious officer dealing with religious affairs in the village), and during his childhood he observed Islamic religious practices that could not be differentiated from local traditions. For example, when people celebrated the birth of Muhammad (*Maulid*), they performed a big *slametan* at the village shrine. After prayers were delivered by the *modin*, villagers left a small portion of their *slametan* for the spirit of the village *danyang* (the guardian spirit). The *danyang* was identified as an evil spirit who could harm those who did not give homage to it.

At the time he had to go to school, the villagers, with their own money, built a Muhammadiyah school on land donated (*wakaf*) by some prominent Muslim leaders. The teaching of Islam followed the teaching of Muhammadiyah. At this school, he learned about the basic teachings of Islam such as five times daily prayers, fasting, reading the Qur'an and the Arabic language. There is no doubt that he then developed a modernist

and puritanical view of Islam. Furthermore, like other villagers who were active in religious social organisations, he was involved actively in every social organisation managed by Muhammadiyah. *Turba*, an activity to preach Islam to other regions that are nominally Muslim, was one of his favourite activities. When he continued his education at university, his interest in religious social organisations brought him to the campus mosque.

In the mid-1980s, there was a big wave of Muslim students who made the campus mosque their centre of activity. When the NKK (Normalisasi Kehidupan Kampus, the normalisation of campus activities), which banned the use of the campus for social and political activities, was forcibly applied to all campuses in Indonesia, Muslim students transferred their activities to the mosque. The Islamic activities ranged from reading the Qur'an to holding seminars on Islamic themes related to social, economic and political contexts. Furthermore, the students organised a network for advanced training through campus mosques throughout Indonesia. The establishment of an LDK (Lembaga Dakwah Kampus, an institution for *dakwah* on the campus) helped these students to spread their influence among other students (Rosyad, 1995). Three mosques were particularly influential, that is, the Mosque Salaman of ITB in Bandung, the Mosque Al-Ghifari of IPB in Bogor, and the Mosque Shalahuddin of UGM Yogyakarta.⁴

Imaduddin Abdurrahim⁵, one of many lecturers actively involved in the campus mosque activities, argued that the impulse to activate the

⁴ ITB (Institut Teknologi Bandung, The Institute of Technology Bandung), IPB (Institut Pertanian Bogor, The Institute of Agriculture of Bogor), and UGM (Universitas Gadjah Mada, The University of Gadjah Mada). These names come from Persian Muslim leaders.

⁵ Imaduddin was a lecturer in electrical engineering at ITB. He is one of the founding fathers of the activities in the Mosque Salam ITB. When his Islamic lectures were banned, he went to Malaysia where he successfully organised the Malaysian Muslim youths. Right now, he has established a foundation called *Yassin* which promotes Islamic mental training.

mosque on the campus was merely driven by the demand to experience spiritual emotions as they had been experienced in the village. Bang Imad, as he was known, said that the sort of secular environment of the campus caused him to long for the spiritual experience he obtained in his childhood in the village. Furthermore, the strong push from secular life emerging from the tendency toward materialism led the Muslim students to turn to religious activities.⁶

It is not surprising that students from the village, especially from an Islamic background, tended to flock to the mosque. In a new and strange environment, Muslim students from the village needed a community to secure their spiritual needs, and the mosque provided the answer. They chose the mosque for several reasons. Firstly, the mosque provided a religious environment that was similar to their religious experience in the village. Secondly, the Muslim community gave them spiritual security amid the secular environment. Thirdly, the mosque provided them with religious teaching as a complement to their other studies.

When these students returned home, they brought their religious experience gained in the campus mosque. They adopted the curricula and training methods developed in the mosque. The most immediate impact of their return to the village was the establishment of more organised ways of teaching Islam in the village. For example, reading the Qur'an was taught using "a quick method"⁷, without memorising the Arabic alphabet. Moreover, reference materials on Islamic teaching were supplemented with secular knowledge on topics of leadership,

⁶ In Egypt it was also found that the stronger the secular push, the stronger the desire to turn to spiritual activity. The significant increase of Sufi Orders as well as militant groups such as Ikhwanul Muslimin in Egypt were the result of that secular push (Gilsenan, 1973).

⁷ In recent times, there have been several books about this new method of reading the Qur'an. Previously, the reading of the Qur'an was taught through memorisation, which can take several months or even years. However, these new methods require only a short time to master the Qur'an.

economics, management and politics. The rise of these student activities coincided with the triumph of the Islamic revolution in Iran. Books discussing the Iranian revolution as well as the speeches of intellectuals who supported the rise of the revolution were translated into Indonesian. These books are among the many references for teaching in the village mosque.

The most profound implication of the return of Muslim students to the village was the emergence of militancy amongst the villagers. Both Gilson and Gellner argue that Muslim militancy grows rapidly in marginal urban areas where Muslims are among the disadvantaged and poor. However, in Islamic history, militancy seldom grows in rural areas. Dhofier, for example, found that *pesantren* which are dominant in rural life never produce militancy as they do in the city. The Muslim students became militant because they were, in some sense, marginalised for their religious affiliation during their life on the campus. Some students still remember that when they were going to the mosque they were cynically labelled as "*unta Arab*" (Arabic camels), as they were accused of following Arabic traditions. This unfriendly environment made them defensive of their beliefs. As a result, as Gilson noted in Egypt, their attachment to the mosque community became deeply anchored. The most salient example of their militancy was manifested in their dress behaviour. Most of these male students deliberately grew their beards and wore *jubah* (long white robes and white turbans) like their Arabic Muslim brothers. Although some of them only wore the *jubah* while praying, others wore the *jubah* as their ordinary dress. This militancy was not shown while they were studying on campus, as their surrounding environment did not support it. However, when they returned to the village, they demonstrated their religiosity by imitating what they argued was "following the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad".

In a village close to the central town of Klaten, there is a mosque called *Mujahiddin* (the struggling people for Allah). The Muslim students studying at prominent universities in Yogyakarta, Surakarta and Semarang used to gather at this mosque in a group. These students, most of whom were local villagers wore *jubah*. In a serious way, one of them explained the concept of *tauhid*, the belief in the oneness of God, taken from Imaduddin's book, *Kuliah Tauhid* (a lecture on *tauhid*). Published in the early 1980s by the Mosque Salman ITB⁸, this book was a compilation of Imad's mental training on the philosophy of *tauhid*. The book is widely read by Muslim students in Indonesia as well as in Malaysia. Echoing the importance of a rigid adherence to *tauhid*, all Muslims have to dedicate their life to God. "If we believe that the *tauhid* is the central tenet of Islamic belief, then we must sanctify our life solely to God", is how the student leading the meeting summarised the book.

The phenomena of wearing *jubah* in Basin started roughly in the early 1980s, when increasing numbers of students went to university. This was the result of the education organised by Muhammadiyah beginning in the late 1960s. In the early 1980s, when the religious environment in Indonesia was rather unfriendly to the Islamic movement, Muslim students transferred their activities to the mosque. Muslim students from Basin took part in the campus mosques. Among them, there were two Basin students, for example, who were involved in Islamic organisations on campus. They then brought their experiences to the village.

Roji was the son of a teacher involved in the establishment of Muhammadiyah in the village. His father was a teacher in the state elementary school in the neighbouring village. As a teacher he was regarded as one who had a better rank in the village. The villagers called

⁸ Rifki Rosyad (1995) found that the training in the Mosque Salman ITB became the model for religious training in other campus mosques.

him "*mas guru*"⁹ (honourable teacher). After graduating from state high school, his son entered IKIP (Institute for Teachers and Education) in Yogyakarta.

Six students and I went to Yogyakarta to enrol in IKIP. I had a strange feeling, both happy and anxious, about life in the city. We rode bicycles from Klaten to Yogyakarta, about 35 km. I remembered that my shoes were torn because they were too small for my feet. I went to the university on foot. I felt inferior seeing other students wearing good clothes and riding nice motorbikes.

I stayed with my uncle in his rented room (*kamar kontrakan*), which was a bamboo house. I felt very strange. My uncle never went to any activities on the campus. He stayed all the time in his room reading books. The only place familiar to my uncle was the mosque. When I questioned why he never went to any campus activities, he said that as a village student (*mahasiswa kampung*) he felt uneasy. The mosque, according to my uncle, was the only place for *mahasiswa kampung* to meet with other students. Through the mosque, then, my campus life was introduced. I felt at home in the mosque society. I could *azan* (call for prayers) with good voice as I was a *qosidah* (Malay and Arabic music-like) singer.

In that mosque, I met a friend who introduced me to HMI (Muslim Students Association). After that I was actively involved in HMI activities. Through HMI my social life on campus widened. The Islamic training held by HMI was shocking. The early discussion was designed to question the basic Islamic beliefs obtained in my village. The purpose of such training was to reconstruct student Muslims' beliefs about their religion. Although at first I was shocked, I enjoyed the training.

With the knowledge and experience from HMI, I proposed to my colleagues in the rented house (*rumah kontrakan*)—there were about 12 Muslims—to establish a religious discussion in the house. I knew that most of these students were Muslims who knew little about Islam. They said that they did not feel comfortable to join HMI because of their poor knowledge of Islam. Conducting *sholat berjamaah* (congregational prayers) started the group's activities, with a little discussion after prayers. The group was named "*Muhajirin*", meaning people who migrate. I think the name suited our situation; we were migrant students. Our landlord was proud of the activity, and he donated a room for prayers.

My *kontrakan* then became the centre (*pusat*) for students from my village. Some of them rented rooms close to the place, and some others only visited during the weekend. The *Muhajirin* was the embryo of many activities held in my village.

When Roji went back to the village, he was elected leader of the youth of Muhammadiyah (*Pemuda Muhammadiyah*). He imitated the HMI's method in organising Islamic activities. For example, he organised mental training for the youth of Muhammadiyah by giving them a

⁹ The ascription of "*mas*" in Java has two meanings. On the one hand, it refers to someone who is older. On the other hand, the term "*mas*" is used to show respect and honour to someone, though he may be younger than the speaker.

systematic understanding of the *tauhid* principles. Underlying the training was the understanding that most Muslims in the village did not have a complete knowledge of the Islamic faith.

The impact of the training was significant. Mun, one of the participants, argued that it had broadened her outlook about Islam. She followed Roji's advice to go to Yogyakarta and live in Roji's previous boarding house. The Muhajirin group in the boarding house gave her a preliminary introduction to the Islamic life in the campus society. However, unlike Roji, she refused to join HMI. This is because she considered HMI a secular Islamic organisation.

At her university, she met a student, her future husband, who introduced her to an LDK, which offered a series of Islamic training sessions. This training was organised nationally. Therefore, it was held in Bogor, Bandung, Jakarta, Malang and other large Indonesian cities with students coming from various cities in Indonesia.

She brought the LDK back to the village, and got some youths to study Islam in the form of her religious orientation. Located in a mosque, she trained these youths in a similar way to the training received from the campus. She invited her friends to teach Islam for her group. After one year, the group was solidly established. The immediate impact of such groups was that all the male members wore *jubah* and grew their beards long. The mosque then was considered the *jubah* mosque.

However, after several years of being known as "the *jubah* mosque" because its members wore the *jubah*, an amazing change happened. A new phenomenon occurred when these students decided to take off their *jubah* and shave their beards. The religious sermons given in the mosque changed dramatically. Whereas previously they regarded the state as a *kafir* institution that did not deserve to be obeyed, now the pendulum swung in the opposite direction. The sermon, as described at the

beginning of this section, now expresses the idea of a "*masyarakat madani*" (civil society). Wherever the idea came from, it is most intriguing that this kind of sermon would be preached in a mosque once regarded as a fundamentalist mosque.

The change was one result of a social, political as well as cultural resurgence. Islamic religious activities in Java have been marked by the increased number of people attending Friday prayers in mosques, the people's enthusiasm to pay *zakat*, the increased number of people going to Mecca, and the wide distribution of publications regarding Islamic teachings. In 1985, *Tempo*, a leading magazine in Indonesia, reported that in recent years, and especially since the 1980s, the number of mosques in hotels and government offices had increased sharply.¹⁰ Furthermore, the emergence of a new generation of Muslims who had no relation to any Islamic mass organisation such as Muhammadiyah or NU, provided a "public sphere" for Muslims to participate in the national discourse. The old conflict of religious orientation between traditionalist and modernist Islam, though it has not disappeared totally, has diminished.

¹⁰ The establishment of ICMI (Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Se-Indonesia, Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals), some scholars see as one of the various manifestations of the non-religious orientation of Muslims. The establishment of ICMI could have been politically motivated and yet be a response to Islamic resurgence. There has been a lot of discussion regarding the existence of ICMI; is it a cultural phenomenon or is it a political phenomenon? Nurcholish Madjid and Hefner argued that ICMI is a result of the cultural resurgence of Islam in Indonesia. Nurcholish maintained that the "education shift" of *santri* followed their involvement in the modern schools. Previously, Muslims focused their study only in *pesantren*, which had limited access to modern Indonesian discourse. Hefner (1993) found that the emergence of middle class Muslims who can be said to be pious and seriously observing Islamic duties had prevailed in all aspects of life. On the other hand, other scholars, among them Liddle, Daniel Lev, Crouch, Budiman and Reid, regard the establishment of ICMI as politically motivated. Because of the increasing criticism from the Indonesian armed forces (ABRI), and also lack of support from the ABRI, President Soeharto pursued other social organisations that could sustain his power. As ICMI provided a huge support from the Muslim community, Soeharto supported the establishment of ICMI. However, controversies surrounding the establishment, especially the political atmosphere, of ICMI cannot be discussed in this thesis.

The change in religious behaviour, such as the removal of *jubah*, may have occurred because of the good relations between Islam and the state that provided a wider "public sphere" for Muslims to show their identity more openly. The life of campus mosques was propelled by the banning of political activities on campus. In a similar way in the community, the banning of Islam as the basis for any social or political organisation forced Muslims to focus their activities on the mosque. The so-called "underground" Islamic movement grew rapidly. This is because such a social organisation was the only sphere available for them. When there are other social organisations available Muslims began to utilise these opportunities. Students who were previously only in the mosques had other media through which to express their concerns, such as involvement in local non-government organisations and economic activities. In Basin, most students who previously wore *jubah* established an Islamic bank, BTM Insan Kamil, giving small soft loans for traders and farmers. Their involvement in the bank altered their performance from "frightening ninjas to smiling officers", as an informant said.

The non-sectarian character of the new generation of Muslims, as shown by their refusal to follow strictly any one Islamic religious orientation, represents the emergence, using Thohari's words, of "the third Muslim generation" (Thohari, 1998). Thohari further characterises this generation as Muslims who are more concerned with the substantive aspect of Islam rather than its formal legal aspect (Jamhari, 1999). Kuntowijoyo's taxonomy groups Islam in Indonesia into three major eras: the mythological era, when Islam was understood more in the mystical sense; the political era, when Muslims interpreted their religiosity in the political arena; and the ideal era, when Muslims attempted to translate the message of Islam in accordance with modernity (Kuntowijoyo, 1994).

Nurcholish Madjid¹¹, among others, is the pioneer of this third era. Although he could not claim that this third generation is a result of his idea of "the necessity of reforming the Islamic thoughts" in the early 1970s, Madjid's ideas provoked the emergence of the third Muslim generation in Indonesia.

In addition to the diminishing conflict within Muslim communities and the good relations with the state, the removal of *jubah* was caused by the swing of discourse. The *jubah* groups flourished in the time when Muhammadiyah dominated religious discourse. As Muhammadiyah follow the reformist views on returning to the practise of the Prophet, its supporters regarded the *jubah* as a sign of returning to pure Islamic practice. However, when more people in Basin returned to practice Islam in accordance with traditionalist Islam, the *jubah* group was not welcomed. People who follow Javanised Islam considered them as "*tidak Jawani*" (not suited to the Javanese context) and to have gone too far in purifying Islam.

The swing of this religious orientation is an example of the tendency of Islam in Java. It is this characteristic that marks popular Islam there. The swing to a certain religious orientation is, in fact, a quest for a true Islam. Placed between two poles, local Islam characterised by Javanese traditions on the one side, and one form of universalising Islam characterised by purifying Islam on the other side, the process of the quest is set. When the pendulum swings more toward Javanese traditions,

¹¹ Nurcholish Madjid graduated from the Modern *Pesantren* in Gontor Ponorogo, East Java. He then continued his studies at the IAIN (State Institute of Islamic Studies) Jakarta, majoring in Arabic literature (*Adab*). He chaired HMI (Muslim Students Association) for two periods. In the early 1970s, he made a controversial speech in front of student leaders in Jakarta. His thoughts on the need for secularisation became a polemical topic that highlighted the emergence of Muslim scholars at that time. After finishing a PhD at Chicago University, he established the Paramadina Foundation, which organises lectures on Islam for urban people, especially its middle class. With many books published of his thoughts, he is certainly one of the most prominent scholars on Islamic thought in Indonesia.

there will be a movement swinging the pendulum back to universalise Islam. Similarly, when the pendulum of religious discourse in Java moves toward Islam, there will be an attempt to swing back to local context. In between these poles, traditionalist Islam, which represents the close ties of the two poles, stands to balance the swing of the pendulum.

6. Debates on the Concept of a Good Muslim

Dhofier has argued that the difference between modernists and traditionalists is the yardstick used to determine what is considered to be a good Muslim. For *kyai* and people who are affiliated to their tradition, the perfection of life is measured solely by life in the hereafter. On the other hand, modernists evaluate their quality of life by comparing it to a modern Western standard (Dhofier, 1998:31). While modernists strive to realise the perfection of life through material gain, traditionalists seem to focus concern on spiritual perfection. This debate is one of many debates regarding the perfection of religiosity. In this section I will discuss the arguments of the traditionalist and modernist positions.

Modernists and traditionalists differ in the way they consider Islam should be articulated. According to modernists, Islamic teachings have two aspects: spiritual and social. The spiritual aspect is related to the relation between humans and God. Ritual practices are dedicated to worshiping God as a symbol of submission. On the other hand, Islamic teachings also contain a social message, meaning that the message embodied in the rituals is intended to teach social relations. *Zakat* (alms giving), for example, in addition to observing God's command, contains a message to love the poor. Therefore, for modernists, the perfection of one's religiosity has to be affirmed by social and worldly appearances.

For traditionalists, however, the perfection lies in the completeness of one's practise of Islamic rituals. Therefore, people have to pray

regularly, in a perfect manner, to prove themselves good Muslims. Practising Islamic rituals in an accomplished form will affect people's social behaviour.

For the followers of Javanised Islam, religious practice is a question of the personal ways used by individuals to worship God. It is up to individuals to choose their own way. Spiritual experience and practice, according to Javanised Islam, is a personal learning process. Individuals have to make their own judgments about the correct way for them to worship. If a person can gain spiritual wisdom by using a certain way of communicating, then that way is suitable. However, if a person cannot obtain spiritual feelings, the way is wrong. Moreover, the impact of spiritual wisdom also varies between individuals. For Javanised Islam the ultimate end of religious experience does not lie in the completeness of ritual practice or in social activities, but in individual spiritual wisdom.

At first glance, the interaction of Islam and local culture appears to be a complex process. Islam came to Java in a gradual, segmental and peaceful way from Persia, which provided a mystical form of understanding; from Gujarat, which provided a more Indic nature; and from the Arabia Peninsula, which provided a more legal understanding of Islam. Islam came to the island at a time when local Hindu and Buddhist traditions had established their presence for approximately a millennium. The result of this meeting was a complex cultural dialogue.

There are two lines of discourse regarding the study of the meeting of various cultural traditions (Geertz, 1995). On the one hand, there is a tendency to separate and sort traditions according to their sources of origin in order to reconnect them. On the other hand, there is a view that one should examine the traditions as a whole without separating their elements. From the way in which the process of Islamisation took place in Java, it seems that what might be called communal conversion was

involved. Islam was adopted by ethnic groups in their own milieu, while maintaining their own cultural identity. There was hardly a break with past traditions, and pre-Islamic customs and beliefs survived. In this process more people came under the influence of Islam, but they took longer to cover the distance from the former religion to Islam, viewed as a continuum from nominal acceptance of Islam to greater conformity and commitment.

Some orthodox Muslims would argue that there is only one monolithic Islam, based on Islamic traditions developed in Arabic societies where the first traditions of Islam originated. Islam, however, is also a social reality, consisting of a symbolic system that is culturally variable and which changes historically. The assertion of a monolithic Islam appears to be contradicted, not only by cultural diversity, but also by the variety of social environments in which Islam exists. Islam as a cultural system has been adopted by various societies and, in its development, has become integrated into previously existing traditions.

The tension between doctrine and reality in Islam is made substantially clearer by the example of the tension between Islamic *shari'a* and Islamic mysticism. In Islamic history, Islamic mysticism represents a not always conscious attempt to undermine the dogmatic edifice of legal Islam. It achieves this on the one hand by seeking to expand the scope to manoeuvre in the relationship between God and man, and on the other by incorporating spiritualising elements into Islam.

Following Nicholson (1989), the debate about the *shari'a* and Sufism can be seen in the way in which Muslims understand these two concepts. Nicholson argues that Sufism bases its teachings on the concept of *tariqa* (the path of Sufism), which expresses the basic theological position of the Muslim mystic, according to which there are many different ways to God. On the other hand, the Islam of the *shari'a* recognises only one way

according to the Qur'an and the Sunnah of Muhammad (Nicholson, 1989). It is clear that Sufism provides greater opportunities for the local context to influence Islamic religious practices. On the basis of this form, Islam in Java has been developed.

If we return to the discussion of rationalisation, these different views relate to the effort of finding "a cultural system" for their adherents' behaviour. By providing reasoning for their religious practices in accordance with Islamic teachings, each group attempts to demonstrate its legitimate ways of pursuing true Islam. The different articulation of religion is influenced by social and cultural conditions. Following the argument of Eickelman related to "social location" and also Bhabha's (1997) work on "the location of culture", the process of religious rationalisation is distinctively characterised in a local context. Traditionalist rationalisation involves coherent systematisation which focuses on expressing an understanding of behaviour in reference to conventional Islamic teachings. On the other hand, modernists concentrate more on systematic rationalisation which focuses on the need for further interpretations of Islamic teachings in its social aspect.

The oscillation of religious orientation also provides a clear picture of progress towards a better understanding of religion. Situated in a certain social and cultural environment, one can change one's religious orientation as a process of adaptation to the social context. When faced with another social and cultural location, one may change to other religious orientations. However, unlike Weber, who perceived religious change as a process of rationalisation towards a more systematic religion as a part of historical modernity, the oscillation of religious orientation in Klaten is similar to Gellner's theory of a swinging pendulum. Of course there is no doubt that the pendulum related to religious orientation will not swing in the same way as a mechanical pendulum. However, the

pattern of a swing to a previous religious orientation in Java can be observed. The immediate implication of the use of the oscillation concept is that religious orientation is a process of finding the right religious understanding to suit the Javanese context. Thus, religious orientation has more meaning as a marker of social identity.

Evans-Pritchard's study of segmentary tribal lineages found what might be called a "spiral identity". In Cyrenican tribes he found that when one tribe faces another within the same lineage, they would fight each other. However, when these tribes had a conflict with other tribes in a different lineage, they would unite. All Cyrenican tribes united when they faced the Turks, as the Turks were regarded as an outside tribe. But when the Cyrenicans struggled against Italian power, the Cyrenicans and Turks united under the identity of Islam. The same patterns can also be used to demonstrate the spiral nature of the identity of Islam in Java. In the same category of traditional Islam, religious orientation can be grouped into *syari'a*- and Sufi-oriented followers. Similarly the modernist line may be divided into modernist and reformist. But when traditionalists and modernists face each other, the sub-groups within each tend to unite. When traditionalist and modernist encounter *Shi'ism*, they unite under the symbol of *Sunni*. But when *Shi'ism* and *Sunni* encounter non-Islam, they unite under the banner of Islam.

To sum up, this study of Islam in Java demonstrates the rich phenomena of Islam in Java that has been produced through interaction with local culture. The oscillation tendency in Islamic religious orientation is another important characteristic of Islam in Java. These two characters have influenced the process in which Javanese Muslims define true Islam in Java. Diverse interpretations of Islam in Java have given Javanese Muslims a wide spectrum within which to determine the right place of Islam in Java. On the other hand, the oscillation aspect of religious

orientation facilitates Javanese Muslims in appropriating Islam in accordance with changing social contexts. These two salient aspects of Islam in Java will influence the study of the quality of Muslim-ness and the direction of Islam in Java.

The Direction of Islam in Java

Cultural differences are as old as humanity itself. The degree of change has been affected by exchange between cultures and the size of their populations. Probably one source of the Islamic tendency to adapt is a feeling that could hardly be said to be unique, feeling that one's own culture, being so new of other cultures, is a borrowing from other others, whether culturally, linguistically, or religiously. This perception makes that "being someone more want to have been actually other" (Hodgson, 1974: 20). It has called this process of adaptation as "the selective of cultural features" (Hodgson, 1974: 20). This is also known as "cultural hybridity" and "popular culture", viewed historically, has started religiously. Hodgson argued that Islamic is a religion, but exchanged, absorbed and assimilated many other cultures. There have been mutual exchanges between Islam and other cultural traditions, but more difficult to determine among the people who adopted Islam.

In the east of the Muslim world, it is enough disagreement to say all around scholars such as Franz Brachner, Gertung, Hirschman, Coleman and The have argued that Islam transformed a system of culture. This means that it brought multiple interactions into the area. Islam as a cultural system, has a relatively stable expression and thus over time a religious and culturally specific religious group. The vocabulary of Islam within world of Islam is culturally cultural awareness and a review of their historical developments, helps to explain their current situation. For it would be interesting study that the Islamic system of Islam is deeply dependent of

Chapter VIII

Conclusion:

The Direction of Islam in Java

Cultural differences are as old as humanity itself. The history of humanity has been coloured by exchanges between diverse cultures and distinct civilisations. Probably one cannot find in the whole history of mankind a civilisation that could manage to exist in isolation, holding strictly to its own devices, taking no note of other civilisations and borrowing nothing from others, whether culturally, linguistically or religiously. Hodgson has written that "living societies seem never to have been actually static" (Hodgson, 1974a:80) and has called this process of interaction as "the dialectic of cultural traditions" (Hodgson, 1974b:79). This is also true of Islam. In all its divergence and implications, Islam, viewed historically, has varied enormously. Hodgson argued that Islam, as a religion, has exchanged, interacted and accommodated many other cultures. There have been mutual exchanges between Islam and other cultural traditions that were already in existence among the people who adopted Islam.

In the case of the Muslim world, it is not an exaggeration to say, as several scholars such as Evans-Pritchard, Gellner, Eickelman, Gilson and Tibi have argued, that Islam constitutes a system of culture. This means that although multiple interpretations can exist, Islam, as a cultural system, has a relatively stable expression and thus constitutes a discursive but culturally specific religious genre. The vocabulary of Islam contains words of undoubtedly cultural resonance, and a review of their historical development helps to explain their durable attraction. Yet it would be misleading to say that the cultural system of Islam is simply composed of

terms used in a predictable manner or to see these terms as possessing uniform relevance to political and social action. Rather, Islamic cultural language requires a broader conceptualisation that has to be viewed from the perspective of its local contexts and its universal values.

The civilisation of Islam embraces a great number of local cultures, and should be viewed in terms of its cultural diversity as well as its civilisational unity. There is no doubt that the practise of Islam in various localities shows some similarities and differences. Tibi argued that similarities in Islamic practices emanate from the same roots, the Qur'an and the Sunnah, while their differences derive from the different social and cultural settings where its populations have embraced Islam. In religious practice, the differences and similarities are more prevalent. For example, the legitimation of Sufi, who are manifested in various local forms—*marabouts*, *wali*, *syaiikh*, and *mullah*—is developed in similar ways, that is, by maintaining intellectual chains (*silsila*) through the Prophet Muhammad. However, the way Muslims give respect to these pious people varies culturally. The *Angkawiyu* in Jatinom may not be found in other Muslim societies, although similar celebrations of the life of the *wali* can be found anywhere in the Muslim world. From this perspective, popular Islam, which in this thesis is perceived as Islam as it is practised, is, on the one hand, an acknowledgment of the diverse manifestation of Islam, and on the other hand, an avowal of a universal picture of Islam. Thus, the discussion of diverse religious orientations in Java should be placed in a wider context of Islamic origin, i.e. the esoteric and exoteric approaches to understanding Islam. If it is found that there has been a distinct understanding of Islam in a certain locality which may not be able to be found in other Muslim societies, it should be perceived as a local contribution to Islamic thought.

Studies on Islam at the regional level—African Islam, Arabian Islam, Persian Islam, Indian Islam, Malay Islam and Javanese Islam—demonstrate a general similarity in that the interpretation of Islam and its practice is always closely connected to “place” and “time”. Islamic societies were at the same time one and many. The decline of the caliph powers, such as in Baghdad and with the Turkish Ottoman empire, which were previously regarded as central Islamic powers, and the rapid spread of Islam into many societies, has resulted in considerable differentiation within Islam, with a variety of local colours. Marshall Hodgson argued that Spain, when Muslim Berber tribes developed Islam there, had contributed to the development of Islamic art manifested in mosques and palaces such as the Alhambra palace in Granada. In Persian society, Islam has been developed into magnificent poetry, loved by its Sufi, while Muslims in India and the Malay region developed Islam in “their own traditions of government and of religious and social stratification” (Hodgson, 1974b:8-9). These social experiences of Islam, which facilitate the occurrence of indigenous interpretations of Islam, therefore, cannot be neglected in studying Islam in any locality.

Eickelman (1976) and Tibi (1991) argued that the different interpretations of Islam, even the different forms of its manifestation, are a logical consequence of the ostensibly standard, fixed and unchangeable creed which people implemented and adapted to local circumstances. Islam in each case means very different things in terms of the values and styles of conduct it upholds. For example, using Geertz’s comparison between Islam in Indonesia and Morocco¹, Islam in Indonesia demonstrates “inwardness, imperturbability, patience, poise, sensibility,

¹ Dhofier (1985) and Woodward (1996) criticised Geertz’s assertion that Islam in Indonesia was mainly based on Islam among the *kraton* elites. Dhofier also regarded Geertz as using modernist standards to view Islam in Indonesia. Apart from these criticisms, Geertz also focused his attention only on Islam in Java, neglecting the dynamic and rich manifestation of Islam in other Indonesian regions.

aestheticism, elitism and almost obsessive self-effacement", whereas in Morocco Islam is characterised by "activism, fervour, impetuosity, nerve, toughness, moralism, populism, and almost obsessive self-assertion" (Geertz, 1971:54). Zubaida (1995) has strongly rejected the way in which Islam is pictured in a certain society in a simple way. Any model attempting to picture Muslim societies as a single character is an inadequate approach. She has argued that it is too simplistic to regard the various interpretations of Islam in different localities into a single society labelled as Islamic society.

In addition to the variation in different regions, Lapidus (1988) argued that there was a common factor in all the diversity of processes of conversion, adoption and expansion of Islam. It was the capacity of Islam to generate a sense of identity in the creation of larger-scale communities and polities, which were previously rather fragmented and where traditional social structures had weakened. This capacity marks the shared expression of Islam. The direct implication of these varied processes of conversion has, of course, been a diversity of types of Islam, each taking on its distinctive character as a result of many factors in the local situation. Hodgson (1974 a & b) argued that the variation of Islamic practices which may be labelled as local Islam is an indication of the dynamic and rich nature of the process in which Islam gained its ground in difference societies.

Observed from this perspective, Islam in Java may represent a different Islam compared to that found in Arab, African or Persian Muslim societies. The use of vernacular knowledge to understand Islam has produced a number of interpretations of Islam in Java. Clearly, however, Javanese Muslims base their interpretations on Islamic teachings. Therefore, it would be too simplistic to characterise the development of Islam in Java in terms of a convergence with Javanese

traditions alone. It also has to be looked at from the wider perspective of Islam as a whole. The existence of various discourses within Islam—traditionalist and modernist, normative piety and mysticism, local Islam and universal Islam—should be seen within the wider perspective of Islam, as it occurs in any Muslim society. In doing so, the study of popular Islam in a locality is both a study of Islam interpreted through local knowledge and a study of the local contribution of regional Islam to the development of Islam as a whole.

Throughout this thesis I have argued that there have been various ways in which Javanese Muslims strive to interpret Islam and put it into practice. Three loose groups, modernist, traditionalist and Javanised Islam, have been used to provide examples of the many voices of Islam in Java. These three groups, again, are not sociological categories defined in a strict way consisting of certain characteristics. They are utilised merely to help demonstrate the various forms that enrich the religious phenomena of Islam. Moreover, the terms are described as such to represent three positions among Javanese Muslims. Modernist Islam, with its reformist counterpart, represents a universalist effort attempting to drive Islamic interpretation and practices into a particular conception of universalism. By advocating a return to the Qur'an and the Sunnah, modernist Islam strives to purify Islamic practices from the addition of practices from outside its definition of Islam. On the other hand, Javanised Islam represents local Islam which emphasises the local colour of Islam. By using readily available local knowledge, Islam is given its meaning. Between these two groups, traditionalist Islam stands, balancing the quest for the right place of Islam in Java.

The pluralist nature of Islam in Java, in addition to being the result of personal interpretations of spiritual wisdom, is a cultural and social consequence of the dynamic interaction between Islam and local culture.

This diverse understanding of Islam marks the rich and unique manifestation of Islam in Java. Displacing these diverse variants from the Islamic context as a whole can only obscure their religious significance. As Islam in Java continues to interact, there will be shifts back and forth between two poles, Islamic ideals on the one hand and Javanese traditions on the other. The Islamisation of Javanese villages, as Kim observed in Yogyakarta, is an indication of a swing to being more Islamic in terms of *shari'a*. On the other hand, the accommodational approach of modernist Muslims in Basin, which recognises the necessity of preserving Javanese identity, demonstrates the swing towards the Javanese way. Religious orientations such as traditionalist, modernist and Javanised Islam are, therefore, not static: they may change. The different interpretations of Islam, which result in various religious orientations, are better understood as a way of finding "true Islam" in the Javanese context.

The process of pursuing the true Islam in Java has been influenced not only by various different religious orientations but also by the social and political contexts surrounding the religion. In Basin, for example, the swing in religious orientation was, on the surface, caused by political affairs such as the election of the village chief. In the recent general election of 1999, the first democratic and multi-party election in Indonesia for 40 years, the PDI-P, the Democratic Party of Indonesia led by Megawati Soekarnoputri, the daughter of the first Indonesian President Soekarno, won the election by a slim margin. Some of the Muhammadiyah elite showed their disbelief at the defeat of PAN, the National Mandate Party led by Amin Rais, the former head of Muhammadiyah, which was backed by Muhammadiyah in Basin. Although PAN declared itself as a secular party with no relationship to any religious organisation, the colour of Muhammadiyah is apparent

because of the figure of Amin Rais. Therefore, in a Muhammadiyah village, people expected Muhammadiyah in Basin to support PAN.

The defeat of PAN in Basin can be explained in light of the failure of the Muhammadiyah candidate to win the last village chief election in February 1998. The loosening grip of Muhammadiyah started with the re-introduction of some old religious practices associated with traditionalists, which were strongly rejected by Muhammadiyah. A small number of former Muhammadiyah members who were disappointed with the elite of Muhammadiyah who did not pay equal attention to all members, felt that they had been marginalised, especially when determining the rank of candidates for the election of village chief. The board of Muhammadiyah only supported candidates from the elite circle. Therefore, the disenchanted group left Muhammadiyah and re-invented the old traditionalist practices such as *tahlil*, *berjanjen* and *Laras Madya* as their protest.

People who felt that the members of Muhammadiyah, especially its youth, had gone too far in their practise of religion, supported the re-emergence of these old practices. The banning of old practices such as *slametan*, *tahlil* and *berjanjen* might have been accepted when Muhammadiyah provided theological and economic reasons. However, when people still insisted on practising their own religious acts, Muhammadiyah regarded them as not Islamic. This strong stance of Muhammadiyah, according to those who declared themselves as following Javanised Islam, undermined the relationship between Islam and Javanese traditions which had been strongly established by Javanese *wali*. The emergence of the *jubah* group, as described in chapter VII, was also regarded as an indication that they had gone beyond the Javanese context. "They were following Arabic traditions not Islamic traditions, since the *jubah* already existed in Arab regions before the coming of

Islam", a follower of Javanised Islam declared, criticising the use of the *jubah*.

The swing toward traditionalist Islam was also apparent in education. In the early 1960s until the 1980s, villagers sent their children to *pesantren* or PGA (*Pendidikan Guru Agama*, Education for Religious Teachers). The alumni of these two institutions dominated the teaching as well as the organisation of Islam in Basin. There is no doubt that these students, especially those graduated from *pesantren*, promoted traditionalist practices learnt from the *pesantren*. In the time of Muhammadiyah domination, only one student was sent to a *pesantren* and no one went to PGA anymore. The villagers sent their children to the Muhammadiyah schools and universities. However, since then a lot of villagers have sent their children to *pesantren* and secular schools. One teacher, a strong supporter of Muhammadiyah, who teaches in the State Elementary School (*Sekolah Dasar Negeri*—SDN) said that beginning in the mid-1970s until the early 1990s only a few students from Basin were enrolled in SDN. Most of the villagers sent their children to Muhammadiyah Elementary School (*Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Muhammadiyah*—MIM). Nowadays, she said that the number of Basin students studying in SDN has increased steadily. Similarly, some villagers have chosen *pesantren* that have an affiliation to traditionalist Islam in East Java.

In the New Order era elections (1971, 1977, 1982, 1988, 1992 and 1997), PPP, the United Development Party, an amalgamation of Islamic parties, always won in Basin. Although the government threatened the villagers by not giving them any government aid, they insisted on voting for PPP. In every election there was a banner hung on a tree declaring that, "you are entering the base camp of PPP (*anda memasuki wilyah PPP*)". However, such a banner was not hung in the 1998 election. The

Muhammadiyah elites were no longer confident that the party they supported, PAN, would win the election. PDI-P, supported by traditionalist Islam, Javanese Islam and Christians, dominated the discourse of political affairs. This, in turn, influenced the way in which villagers followed a particular religious orientation.

The inter-woven relationship between religious orientation and political affairs demonstrates the complex nature of religion in Java. The political scene is, sometimes, a reflection of the underpinning religious discourse on religious orientation. There will be continuous and renewed forms of oscillation in religious orientation which mark the dynamic endeavour of the Javanese struggle to define the right place of Islam in Javanese society. This pursuit will be characterised by the swing of the pendulum from universal Islam to local Islam.

If Islam may be thought to constitute a cultural system, the local cultural systems in the Islamic world must also be taken into account. There is no doubt that in its reality, Islam has interacted with local cultures. As far as this thesis is concerned, there is abundant evidence to support the existence of interrelationships between Islam and older Javanese traditions. Ricklefs, for example, shows that much of the Islamic vocabulary used in Javanese literature and mysticism was well submerged in Javanese ideas of mystical practices.

As a result of this reality, Muslims in Java are exposed to two ideals, on the one side the ideal of the universality of Islam under the guidance of the Qur'an and the Sunnah, and on the other side the ideal modes of Javanese traditions. This situation allows Muslims to swing between these two poles. The term Javanised Islam used in this thesis implies this possibility, which is sometimes also known as "*durung 'alim*", and refers to people who do not yet know, or know little about, Islam. Javanised Islam could swing towards Islam when it is supported by situations and

conditions favourable to Islam. On the other hand, Javanised Islam could swing towards Javanese traditions. Woodward argues that when such people live close to the mosque or Muslim community, it is likely that they will tend to follow Islamic teachings. Whenever these people live among the people who strongly follow the traditions of Java, most probably they will be influenced by them.

The pluralistic voices of Islam in Java and the oscillating tendency of religious orientations have coloured the dynamic manifestation of Islam in Java. As religious understanding will always change, there will also be changes in religious orientation. In regard to these religious changes, an informant offered the following explanation:

According to Islam, there are four groups representing the condition of faith (*iman*). Firstly, for humans, *iman* sometimes increases and decreases. Secondly, for the prophets, *iman* will always increase and never decrease. Thirdly, for Satan, *iman* never increases but always decreases. And finally, for angels, *iman* stays the same, it neither decreases nor increases. Therefore, as a human, my faith can decrease and increase.

Religious groupings have more meaning as social markers than as ideological terms. The presence of religious orientations is a marker of religious understandings. Following Gellner (1984), the existence of two poles of understanding of Islam—legalistic and Sufism, which can be filled by many different forms—facilitates religious change, moving from one pole to another, and then swinging back again to the other pole. For Javanese, this change is regarded as a process of defining the right interpretation of Islam in accordance with time and place. Observing this swing is like standing on a seashore, where we can see that the water ebbs and flows. When the water ebbs, we are sure that the water will rise again to the shore. But how far and big the water will flow, we are not certain. The water can at times reach further than the last high tide mark. The elements that facilitate religious change exist in Java. However, in what form and manner the swing will re-occur is hard to predict: it may

emerge with a similar character as before, yet will not appear in exactly the same form. Recently, in an interview with an Indonesian Islamic magazine, *Ummat*, Nurcholish Madjid, a leading Indonesian Muslim thinker regarded as the guru of the nation (*guru bangsa*), made a prediction that by at least the year 2010, the members of NU, representing traditional Islam, will dominate the Indonesian political arena and replace the members of ICMI, representing modernist Islam, who currently dominate Indonesian political discourse (Madjid, 1999). In the light of the ethnography in Klaten, Madjid's prediction seems to have a good basis. It may be an interesting project to examine the role of traditionalist Islam, represented by NU, in the near future. (*Wa Allahu A'lamu bi al-Shawaab.*)

Bibliography

- Abdulrahim, M. Imaduddin
1980 *Kuliah Tauhid. Bandung: Pustaka Salman ITB.*
- Alfian
1969 *Islamic Modernism in Indonesian Politics: the Muhammadiyah Movement During the Dutch Colonial Period (1912-1942).* PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin.
- Ali, Abdul Mu'ti
1960 *The Muhammadiyah Movement, a Bibliographical Introduction.* MA dissertation, McGill University.
- Ali, A. Yusuf, trans.
1983 *The Holy Qur'an.* Maryland: Amana Corp.
- Ali, Fachry and Bahtiar Effendy
1986 *Memambah Jalan Baru Islam: Rekonstruksi Pemikiran Islam Indonesia Masa Orde Baru.* Bandung: Mizan.
- Azra, Azyumardi
1989 *Perspektif Islam di Asia Tenggara.* Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
1992 *The Transmission of Islamic Reformism to Indonesia: Networks of Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian 'Ulama' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.* PhD dissertation, Columbia University.
1994 *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII: Melacak Akar-Akar Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia.* Bandung: Mizan.
- Benda, Harry J.
1959 *The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation 1942-1945.* The Hague: W. van Hoeve Ltd.
1972a "Christian Snouck Hurgronje and the Foundations of Dutch Islamic Policy in Indonesia". In *Continuity and Change in Southeast Asia*. H.J. Benda, ed. New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies.
- Benda, Harry J., ed.
1972b *Continuity and Change in Southeast Asia.* New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies.
- Bhabha, Homi K.
1997 *The Location of Culture.* London: Routledge.
- Boland, B.J.
1982 *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Bowen, John Richard
1993 *Muslims Through Discourse: Religion and Ritual in Gayo Society.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bratakesawa
1954 *Falsafah Siti Djenar.* Surabaya: Yayasan Penerbitan "Djojobojo".
- Bruinessen, Martin van
1992 "Pesantren dan Kitab Kuning: Pemeliharaan dan Kesenambungan Tradisi Pesantren". *Jurnal Uloom Qur'an* 3(4):73-85.

- Darusuprapta, et al.
 1974 *Laporan Penelitian: Kekonsaan di Bayat Klaten*. Yogyakarta: Fakultas Sastra dan Kebudayaan Universitas Gadjah Mada.
- Dhofier, Zamakhsyari
 1985 *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai*. 4th ed. Jakarta: LP3ES.
 1998 "Islamic Education and Traditional Ideology on Java". In *Tradition and Change in Indonesian Islamic Education*. A.G. Muhaimin, ed. Jakarta: Office of Religious Research and Development, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Republic of Indonesia.
- Dirjosanjoto, Pradjarto and James J. Fox
 1989 "The Memories of Village Santri from Jombang in East Java". In *Observing Change in Asia*. R.J. May and W.J. O'Malley, eds. Bathurst, NSW: Crawford House Press.
- Drewes, G.W.J.
 1978 *An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Durkheim, Emile
 1965 *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. London: The Free Press and Collier Macmillan Publishers.
- Eickelman, Dale F.
 1976 *Moroccan Islam: Tradition and Society in a Pilgrimage Center*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
 1977 "Ideological Change and Regional Cults. Maraboutism and Ties of 'Closeness' in Western Morocco". In *Regional Cults*. R.P. Werbner, ed. London: Academic Press.
 1990 "Social Theory in the Study of Muslim Society". In *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination*. D.F. Eickelman and J. Piscatory, eds. London: Routledge.
- Eickelman, Dale F. and James Piscatory, eds
 1990 *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination*. London: Routledge.
- Evans-Pritchard, E.E.
 1973 *The Sanusi of Cyrenica*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Fischer, Michael M.J. and Mehdi Abedi
 1990 *Debating Muslims: Cultural Dialogues in Postmodernity and Tradition*. Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Forrester, Geoff, ed.
 1999 *Post-Soeharto Indonesia: Renewal or Chaos?* Bathurst, NSW: Crawford House Press.
- Fox, James J.
 1991 "Ziarah Visits to the Tombs of the Wali, The Founders of Islam on Java". In *Islam in the Indonesian Social Context*. M.C. Ricklefs, ed. Clayton: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University.
 1997 "A Reading of the Babad Tanah Jawi as a Genealogical Narrative". In *Islam: Essays on Scripture, Thought and Society*. P.G. Riddell and T. Street, eds. Leiden: Brill.
- Fox, James J., ed.
 1998 *Religion and Ritual*. James Singapore: Archipelago Press.
- Geertz, Clifford
 1971 *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
 1976 *The Religion of Java*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

- 1995 *After the Fact: Two Countries, Four Decades, One Anthropologist*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Gellner, Ernest
 1969 *Saints of the Atlas*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson.
 1984 "A Pendulum Swing Theory of Islam". In *Sociology of Religion*. R. Robertson, ed. New Zealand: Penguin Books.
- Gilsenan, Michael
 1973 *Saints and Sufi in Modern Egypt: An Essay in the Sociology of Religion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
 1982 *Recognizing Islam: An Anthropologist's Introduction*. London: Croom Helm.
- Gluckman, Max
 1954 *Rituals of Rebellion in South-east Africa*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Graaf, H.J. de and Th.G.Th. Pigeaud
 1974 *Kerajaan-Kerajaan Islam Pertama di Jawa*. Jakarta: Grafitipers.
- Hefner, Robert W.
 1985 *Hindu Javanese: Tengger Tradition and Islam*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
 1993 "Islam, State and Civil Society: ICMI and the Struggle for the Indonesian Middle Class". *Indonesia* 56:1-35.
- Hodgson, Marshall G.S.
 1974a *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*. 4 vols. Vol. I. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
 1974b *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*. 4 vols. Vol. II. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Hume, David
 1956 *The Natural History of Religion*. H.E. Root, ed. London: Black Press.
- Ibrahim, Ahmad, Sharon Siddique and Yasmin Hussain, eds.
 1985 *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Jamhari
 1995 To Visit a Sacred Tomb: The Practice of Ziarah to Sunan Tembayad's Resting Place in Klaten, Java. MA dissertation, The Australian National University.
 1998 "Ziarah Traditions". In *Religion and Ritual*. J.J. Fox, ed. Singapore: Archipelago Press.
 1999 "Islamic Political Parties: Threats or Prospects?". In *Post-Soeharto Indonesia: Renewal or Chaos?* G. Forrester, ed. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies.
- Johns, Anthony Hearle
 1985 "Islam in Southeast Asia: Problems of Perspective". In *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia*. Ahmad Ibrahim, Sharon Siddique and Yasmin Hussain, eds. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Khaldun, Ibn
 1958 *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*. Franz Rosenthal, trans. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Kim, Hyung-Jun
 1996 Reformist Muslims in a Yogyakarta Village: The Islamic Transformation of Contemporary Socio-Religious Life. PhD dissertation, The Australian National University.

- Koentjaraningrat
1985 *Javanese Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kuntowijoyo
1994 *Dinamika Sejarah Umat Islam Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Shalahuddin Press.
- Lapidus, Ira Marvin
1988 *A History of Islamic Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levtzion, Nehemia, ed.
1979 *Conversion to Islam*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Lings, Martin
1971 *A Sufi Saint of the Twentieth Century: Shaikh Ahmad Al-'Alawi: His Spiritual Heritage and Legacy*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Madjid, Nurcholish
1992 *Islam Doktrin dan Peradaban*. Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina.
1994 *Lautan Hikmah: Kumpulan Renungan Keagamaan di Harian Republika*. Bandung: Mizan.
1999 "Dibanding Kelompok Lain, Ummat Islam lebih Siap Berdemokrasi". *Ummat* 29:4.
- Masyhuri, Agoes Ali
1998 *Kebangkitan Politik Warga NU*. In *Jawa Pos*. Surabaya.
- May, R.J. and W.J. O'Malley, eds
1989 *Observing Change in Asia*. Bathurst, NSW: Crawford House Press.
- Memor, Muhammad Umar
1976 *Ibn Taimiyya's Struggle Against Popular Religion*. The Hague: Mouton & Co.
- Miyazaki, Koji
1988 *The King and the People: The Conceptual Structure of a Javanese Kingdom*. Japan: Geboren te Imabari.
- Morris, Brian
1991 *Anthropological Studies of Religion: An Introductory Text*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Muhaimin, A.G.
1995 *The Islamic Traditions of Cirebon: Ibadat and Adat Among Javanese Muslims*. PhD dissertation, The Australian National University.
1998a *Tradition and Change in Indonesian Islamic Education*. A.G. Muhaimin, ed. Jakarta: Office of Religious Research and Development Ministry of Religious Affairs, Republic of Indonesia.
1998b "Traditions of Popular Islam". In *Religion and Ritual*. J.J. Fox, ed. Singapore: Archipelago Press.
- Muhammadiyah, Pimpinan Pusat
n.d. *Himpunan Putusan Tarjih*. 3rd ed. Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah.
- Muzani, Saiful, ed.
1993 *Pembangunan dan Kebangkitan Islam di Asia Tenggara*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Naipaul, V.S.
1998 *Beyond Belief: Islamic Excursions Among the Converted Peoples*. London: Little, Brown and Company.

- Nakamura, Mitsuo
1976 *The Crescent Arises Over the Banyan Tree: A Study of the Muhammadiyah Movement in a Central Javanese Town*. PhD dissertation, Cornell University.
- Nasr, Seyyed Hossein
1987 *Traditional Islam in the Modern World*. London and New York: KPI.
- Nasution, Harun
1974 *Islam Ditinjau dari Berbagai Aspeknya*. Vol. II. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang.
1975 *Pembaharuan Dalam Islam: Sejarah Pemikiran dan Gerakan*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang.
1985 *Islam Ditinjau dari Berbagai Aspeknya*. Vol. I. Jakarta: UI Press.
- Nicholson, Reynold A.
1989 *The Mystics of Islam*. London: Arkana.
- Noer, Deliar
1980 *Gerakan Modern Islam Indonesia, 1900-1942*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Parsons, Talcott
1993 "Introduction". In *The Sociology of Religion*. M. Weber, ed. Boston: Bacon Press.
- Peacock, James L.
1978 *Muslim Puritans: Reformist Psychology in Southeast Asian Islam*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Pranowo, Bambang
1991 "Traditional Islam in Contemporary Rural Java: The Case of Tegalrejo Pesantren". In *Islam in the Indonesian Social Context*. M.C. Ricklefs, ed. Clayton: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies Monash University.
1993 "Partai Politik dan Islamisasi di Pedesaan Jawa". In *Pembangunan dan Kebangkitan Islam di Asia Tenggara*. S. Muzani, ed. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Raffles, Thomas Stamford
1817 *The History of Java*. 2 vols. Vol. II. London: Black, Parbury, and Allen.
- Redfield, R.
1956 *Peasant Society and Culture: An Anthropological Approach to Civilization*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
1968 *The Primitive World and its Transformations*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Ricklefs, Merle Calvin
1974 *Jogjakarta Under Sultan Mangkubumi, 1749-1792: A History of the Division of Java*. London: Oxford University Press.
1979 "Six Centuries of Islamization in Java". In *Conversion to Islam*. N. Levtzion, ed. London: Oxford University Press.
1993a *A History of Modern Indonesia Since c.1300*. 2nd ed. London: Macmillan.
1993b *War, Culture and Economy in Java 1677-1726*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
1998 *The Seen and Unseen Worlds in Java, 1726-1749: History, Literature and Islam in the Court of Pakubuwana II*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- Ricklefs, Merle Calvin, ed.
1991 *Islam in the Indonesian Social Context*. Clayton: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University.
- Riddell, P.G. and T. Street, eds.
1997 *Islam: Essays on Scripture, Thought and Society*. Leiden: Brill.
- Robertson, Roland, ed.
1984 *Sociology of Religion*. New Zealand: Penguin Books.

- Rosyad, Rifki
1995 *A Quest for True Islam: A Study of the Islamic Resurgence Movement Among the Youth in Bandung, Indonesia*. MA dissertation, The Australian National University.
- Salam, Solichin
1960 *Sekitar Wali Sanga, Kudus: Menara*.
- Sastronaryatno, M., trans.
1962 *Serat Babad Tembyad*. Vols. 1-3. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Schimmel, Annemarie
1994 *Deciphering the Signs of God*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Simuh
1995 *Sufisme Jawa: Transformasi Tasawuf Islam ke Mistik Jawa*. Yogyakarta: Yayasan Bentang Budaya.
- Soebardi, S.
1975 *The Book of Catechism*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Soelarto, B.
1993 *Garebeg di Kesultanan Yogyakarta*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Sumantri
1964 [1896] *Riwayat Kyai Ageng Gribig Jatinom Klaten*. Klaten: No Publisher.
- Suminto, Aqib
1985 *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Suwandi, Raharjo
1985 *A Quest for Justice: The Millenary Aspirations of a Contemporary Javanese Wali*. PhD dissertation, The Australian National University.
- Swidler, Ann
1973 "The Concept of Rationality in the Work of Max Weber". *Sociological Inquiry* 43:35-42.
1993 "Foreword". In *The Sociology of Religion*. M. Weber, ed. Boston: Bacon Press.
- Thohari, Hajriyanto Y.
1998 *Politik Islam Generasi Baru Jilid Dua*. In Kompas. Jakarta.
- Tibi, Bassam
1991 *Islam and the Cultural Accommodation of Social Change*. Oxford: Westview Press.
1998 *The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Tim Pembina Al-Islam, dan Kemuhimmadiyah
1990 *Muhammadiyah, Sejarah, Pemikiran dan Amal Usaha*. Malang: PT Tiara Wacana and UMM Press.
- Trimingham, J.S.
1971 *The Sufi Orders in Islam*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Turner, Victor
1973 "The Center Out There: Pilgrim's Goal". *History of Religions*. 12(3):191-230.
- Vrijhof, Pieter Hendrik
1979 "Conclusion". In *Official and Popular Religion: Analysis of a Theme for Religious Studies*. P.H. Vrijhof and J. Waardenburg, eds. The Hague: Mouton.

- Vrijhof, Pieter Hendrik and Jacques Waardenburg, eds
 1979 *Official and Popular Religion: Analysis of a Theme for Religious Studies*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Waardenburg, Jacques
 1979 "Official and Popular Religion as a Problem in Islamic Studies". In *Official and Popular Religion: Analysis of a Theme for Religious Studies*. P.H. Vrijhof and J. Waardenburg, eds. The Hague: Mouton.
- Weber, Max
 1958 *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
 1993 *The Sociology of Religion*. Ephraim Fischhoff, trans. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Werbner, R.P.
 1977 *Regional Cults*. London: Academic Press.
- Woodward, Mark R.
 1989 *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
 1996a "Talking Across Paradigms: Indonesia, Islam and Orientalism". In *Toward a New Paradigm: Recent Developments in Indonesian Islamic Thought*. M.R. Woodward, ed. Tempe: Arizona State University.
 1996b *Toward a New Paradigm: Recent Developments in Indonesian Islamic Thought*. Mark R. Woodward, ed. Tempe: Arizona State University.
- Zubaida, S.
 1995 "Is there a Muslim Society?: Ernest Gellner's Sociology of Islam". *Economy and Society* 24(2):151-188.
- Zwemer, Samuel M.
 1939 *Studies in Popular Islam*. London: The Sheldon Press.